The German Tribune

Hamburg, 12 April 1987
Twenty-sixth year - No. 1269 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

First visit to Germany by an Israeli head of state

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Chaim Herzog himself said he was surprised how little opposition was voiced by fellow-Israelis to his intention of being the first President of Israel to pay the Federal Republic of Germany a state visit.

Protests there were between Akko and Eilat, usually linked with a reference to the trial of Ivan Demianyuk and the visions of murderous brutality in German concentration camps to which it again gave rise.

But in comparison with earlier outbreaks of protest the objections raised were far less emotional this time.

In 1951 there was fighting in the streets, with Herut leader, later Premier, Menachem Begin calling for a storm of the Knesset in protest against talks on the reparations offered by Chancellor Adenauer.

Fourteen years later, when the first German ambassador, Rolf Pauls, arrived in Israel to take up his duties, thousands of outraged survivors of the Nazi holocaust marched through Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in protest.

It seems to have taken the visits by Willy Brandt, the first German Chancellor to visit Israel while in office, in 1973, and by Richard von Weizsäcker, as Federal President, in 1986, to make another, new Germany acceptable in Israel.

They may well have succeeded because they made no pretence of normality, respecting instead the ongoing "special relationship" between the western successor state to the Third Reich and the "Jewish national home" that in 1948 became the State of Israel.

Barely 18 months earlier Herr von Weizsäcker, much to the barely concealed chagrin of some of his fellow-Christian Democrats, laid down, in his speech marking the 40th anniversary of VE Day, yardsticks that permanently govern this special relationship between the Federal Republic and Israel.

His first maxim was that there can be no reconciliation without remembrance, the second that reconciliation, let alone forgiveness, is not for states or governments to give; it can only take place between individuals.

On his arrival in Bonn President Herzog flew straight to the site of the former Belsen concentration camp with his host, Richard von Weizsäcker.

This time the choice of venue was not an embarrassing compromise such as the visit to Bitburg paid by Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan. Remembrance is all that was involved; nothing more.

Besides, President Herzog has repeatedly attached importance to the fact that his visit to Germany is not an act of forgiveness, it being not for him to forgive.

Yet he had no hesitation in terming the visit a gesture of growing normalisation. He called the Federal Republic the most pro-Israel country outside the United States.

He also referred to the Federal Republic's economic potential, to the steady flow of tourist traffic from and twin cities in the Federal Republic.

He saw his visit as the logical consequence of relations as they were developing between the two countries.

It would nonetheless hardly have been conceivable had it not been for the two heads of state.

President Herzog has lived in Palestine since 1935, but unlike the many European Jews from Russia or Poland who helped to found and develop Israel, he was born in Northern Ireland and is British-bred.

He studied at Cambridge and Sandhurst and served as a British intelligence corps officer in the Second World War.

A background of this kind has naturally given him characteristics Germans like to consider typically British, such as tolerance and a pragmatic approach.

They made him as predestined for this particular state visit as his sensitive and intelligent host, Herr von Weizsäcker, many of whose speeches have raised valid objections to the appallingly foolish concept of the "grace of late birth" (meaning having been too young to be directly responsible for the Nazi era).

President Herzog visited the Federal Republic at a time when Conservatives keen to call it a day where the past was concerned felt their hour had come.

It is only weeks or months since election addresses advised Germans at long last to "step out of the shadow" of history.

The dust has yet to settle on a dispute between historians that amounted to an attempt to question the unique character of the Third Reich's genocide of the Jews.

The German New Left made a similar attempt in the 1960s, incidentally, attributing to the Palestinians the role of the "new Jews."

Normalisation cannot be based on such unholy attempts to forget history. Progress toward normalisation has, in contrast, been accomplished by German politicians who chose not to forget.

Konrad Adenauer, for instance, went it alone in London at the end of 1951, met Nahum Goldmann at Claridge's and told him Germans were duty bound to at least try to make amends.

Willy Brandt, it will be recalled, went on bended knees before the Warsaw Ghetto memorial in 1971. Richard von Weizsäcker can also be said to come in this category.

In an interview with the Bonn daily *Die Welt* President Herzog said: "We cannot forget the past, and no-one wants to forget it, at least not us, but we don't dare forget the future either."

This axiom wears well in Germany too. Without the past there can be no future, and without remembrance there can be no reconciliation.

Felix Hartlieb
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 4 April 1987)

Israeli President Chaim Herzog (left) and Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker with flag-wavers in Bonn. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Voters reject SPD in Hesse election

The CDU and the FDP have won power in Hesse in the first State poll since the general election in January. The election was called after the coalition of SPD and Greens collapsed in February. The SPD dropped six percentage points compared to the last election 14 months ago — their 40.2 per cent is their worst result in Hesse since the war. The CDU increased its vote from 39.4 per cent to 42.1 per cent. It and the FDP will have 56 seats with 54 for the SPD and Greens. The result is a triumph for the Premier-elect, Walter Wallmann, Environment Minister in the Bonn Cabinet and a former Mayor of Frankfurt. Result: CDU 42.1 per cent, 47 seats (39.4 per cent at the last election, 44 seats in the old assembly); SPD 40.2, 44 (46.2, 51); Greens 9.4, 10 (5.9, 7); FDP 7.8, 9 (7.6, 8).

The Christian and Free Democrats have wrested power from the Social Democrats in Hesse. The majority is a wafer-thin two.

For the Hesse CDU leader and Federal Environment Minister Walter Wallmann, whose second state assembly election campaign it was as *Land* party leader, it was the triumph of his political career.

He led his party to victory in "Red" Hesse, traditionally Social Democratic but in recent years both "Red" and "Green."

It was a historic victory, marking the end of over 40 years in which the SPD reigned supreme in Hesse.

The Social Democrats have hit rock bottom, being hard-hit by polarisation between the Red and Green and Christian and Free Democratic blocs.

The Greens have not only won over traditionally SPD voters; they have also shown that the SPD, in alliance with the Greens as in Hesse, can no longer command a majority.

Hesse SPD leader Hans Krollmann learnt to his chagrin that many Social Democrats and SPD voters are opposed to the SPD-Green pact.

The SPD's dramatic decline in Hesse

Continued on page 13

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Soviet officials 'taking a more open attitude'

The writer, Horst Teltschik, is Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl's foreign policy adviser.

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Perestroika ("Reorganisation" or "Reconstruction"), Democracy and Optimism are the roadside slogans in Moscow with which the Soviet leadership seeks to enlist support for its new policy.

Soviet officials we talk with refer to a "revolutionary policy" that General Secretary Gorbachov has begun.

Western visitors sense changes, but not a "revolutionary" spirit. A stroll round the streets, shops and restaurants of Moscow conveys the same impression as in the past.

Yet the atmosphere has changed in talks. Members of the Bergedorf Discussion Group, who last visited Moscow two years ago, now encountered more openness and greater readiness for dialogue.

Dogmatic, empty formulas and verbal aggression were the exception, not the rule. Soviet officials consulted frankly refer, especially in personal talks, to difficulties that still beset the "reorganisation" of Soviet economy and society and remain to be surmounted.

They refer with evident satisfaction to the fresh breeze in the Soviet media and in intellectual life. There are a growing number of attractive new films and stage productions. New books and modern art exhibitions command attention.

One still wonders whether this process will continue, let alone be intensified. Will it be restricted to a few sectors or will it extend to and change other areas of life?

Hopes are intermingled with scepticism, expectations with worry that it might all prove but short-lived.

What does it all have to do with us? What effect will these doubtless exciting developments within the Soviet Union have on East-West ties as a whole and on ties between Bonn and Moscow in particular?

Vadim Zagladin, First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his address to the Bergedorf Discussion Group:

"We want to contribute, with these domestic reforms, toward confidence-building." The first step in this direction was to end confrontation, to eliminate hostility, to dispense with enemy concepts.

Both sides must recognise and respect the differences between their social and governmental systems. They must not tell each other how the other side ought to be running its affairs. That merely sows the seeds of discord.

Countries ought instead to acknowledge that despite their differences they share a wide range of common interests. They ought jointly to embark on a quest for joint interests. These interests were greater than what divided us.

These words of Mr Zagladin's were aimed at the German members of the discussion group. They were an unmistakable call for dialogue and cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany.

He added that the Federal Republic was particularly well suited, by virtue of its economic, scientific and technological potential, to making a greater and major contribution toward detente.

This sign of the desire for cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany was reflected in all talks held in the Soviet capital.

It was the response to the 18 March Bonn government policy statement in which Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl referred to the many "unexhausted possibilities" of cooperation between our two countries in all sectors.

The Chancellor expressly referred to this cooperation with the Soviet Union as our most important neighbour to the East in the overall context of East-West relations because it would benefit not only our two states and peoples but also foster understanding between East and West in general.

His dictum that relations with the Soviet Union are "of central importance for us" and must be developed on the basis of treaties concluded and of the Helsinki Final Act has fallen on fertile ground where the Soviet leaders are concerned.

This stated readiness on the Soviet leadership's part for dialogue and cooperation is naturally linked to the domestic policy process inaugurated by General Secretary Gorbachov.

The Federal Republic, no less than the Soviet Union, finds itself confronted by the political challenge of being increasingly affected by and dependent on international changes and international economic and monetary trends.

The comment by an official at the Soviet Institute of World Economics that the Soviet Union no longer aims to become self-supporting points in the same direction.

This opens up many possibilities of cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR, as outlined in detail by Chancellor Kohl in his government policy statement.

Special importance must be attached, at all levels, to political dialogue. It is pleasing to note that all Soviet officials conferred with in Moscow expressly confirmed this point. Important talks in Bonn and Moscow this year have already been arranged.

Both sides are agreed that they must not be one-off occasions. They must mark the beginning of a preferably continuous process including summit meet-

Continued on page 3

Bonn's new man in Moscow is going for fourth time

It is back to Moscow, for the fourth time in his diplomatic career, for Andreas Meyer-Landrut, state secretary at the Bonn Foreign Office.

Dr Meyer-Landrut, 57, had been hoping to be sent to the Palais Beauharnais, but the high road to Bonn's embassy in Paris was not to be his.

Foreign Minister Genscher and Chancellor Kohl have decided instead to entrust him with another, far from unimportant mission.

Meyer-Landrut is to take over in Moscow from Ambassador Kastl, who has reached retirement age.

It is back to Moscow for the man Jörg Kastl himself took over from in 1983 when Meyer-Landrut was recalled to Bonn.

It was a reshuffle Moscow regretted, not because Kastl was not held in esteem but because Meyer-Landrut was held in particularly high repute.

Yet he served as Bonn's ambassador to Moscow from 1980 to 1983, at a time of constant and continuous chill in East-West relations. Those were the days of the missile deployment debate, which gave rise to heated emotions in both East and West.

Yet Meyer-Landrut, an astute analyst who followed and influenced the course of Ostpolitik trends in the 1970s as a Foreign Office expert, succeeded in earning and retaining the respect of the Soviet leadership regardless of the vicissitudes of the overall political climate.

He was helped by speaking perfect Russian, a facility not shared by other Western ambassadors in Moscow, and above all by his appreciation of the Russian mentality.

Both he owed to his childhood as a Baltic German, born and bred in the Estonian capital Reval, now Tallinn, and brought up bilingually.



A Baltic childhood . . . Andreas Meyer-Landrut. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

He has always retained a soft spot for the East. He and his family were forced by the Red Army to leave their home when he was 10, but after he war he studied Russian, East European history and sociology.

He took a PhD in Slavonic and East European studies and joined the foreign service. He was first sent to Moscow in 1957.

A mere 10 years later he was again posted to the Soviet capital, returning in 1980 as ambassador. He has now been sent back to Moscow yet again. His appointment must be seen partly as a hint to the Kremlin.

The appointment of a high-grade connoisseur of Soviet affairs as ambassador should make it clear to the Soviet leadership how highly the Bonn government values improved relations.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 March 1987)

Talks here and talks there and everywhere

The first week in April saw high-ranking visitors from Eastern and Western Europe in Bonn, while envoys from Bonn were either setting out or returning.

The latter included Minister of State Wolfgang Schäuble of the Chancellor's Office (from East Berlin) and state secretaries Volker Rühe and Horst Teltchik (to Moscow).

On 2 and 3 April the German-Soviet joint economic affairs commission met in Bonn, the Soviet delegation led by Deputy Premier Alexei Antonov, who last autumn cancelled a Bonn visit at short notice.

He is said to have cried off on that occasion in connection with Chancellor Kohl's mention of Mikhail Gorbachov and Joseph Goebbels in one breath in a *Newsweek* interview.

This time the commission met mainly to confer on Moscow's desire for new forms of economic cooperation, such as joint ventures.

Premier Antonov visited several German cities, conferring with executives of leading companies, and also visited the Hanover Fair.

On 1 and 2 April, in a jumbo round of talks, almost the entire Federal government and the European Commission conferred in Bonn.

The Commission, including president Jacques Delors of France and its vice-presidents Lorenzo Natali of Italy, Karl-Heinz Narjes of Germany, Frans Andriessen of Holland, Lord Cockfield of Britain and Henning Christophersen of Denmark, has 17 members.

It is considered to be well-balanced in terms of party-political allegiances, with a definite bias in favour of middle-of-the-road politics.

From 1 to 4 April the new president of the European Parliament, Britain's Lord Plumb, visited Bonn at the invitation of Bundestag Speaker Philipp Jenninger.

Lord Plumb, a Conservative, largely owes his appointment to a show of solidarity by the German Christian Democrats. So he was keen to pay Bonn the first of his 12 inaugural visits.

He dined with President Weizsäcker and conferred with Chancellor Kohl, Foreign Minister Genscher, Economic Affairs Minister Bangemann, Social Democrat Holger Börner and Hans-Jochen Vogel, Agriculture Minister Kiechle, Christian Democrat Alfred Dregger, Free Democrat Wolfgang Mischnick and representatives of the Greens.

He was welcomed in the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, while in Bonn he signed the city's Golden Book.

(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 March 1987)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel. 22 85 1, Telex 02-14733

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer Druck, Hameln

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address

■ EUROPE

Brussels Commission goes to Bonn to tackle some vexed questions

For the first time in the 30-year history of the European Community, the entire European Commission has travelled to a member state for talks. It went to Bonn to discuss the vexed questions of: agricultural compensation, which Brussels wants to reduce; the Community's financial crisis; and Bonn's rejection of a 13-billion-mark, five-year Community research programme.

Dark clouds of misunderstanding have been hanging heavily over relations between Bonn and Community institutions for months.

The President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, went to Bonn in February, but that did not help. Neither did an exchange of letters with Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

So the 17-member Commission drove to Bonn in a convoy of at least 27 cars (the entourage included interpreters and advisers).

But there was no intention of eating humble pie. The custodian of the Treaties of Rome has nothing to regret.

All the Commission has done over the years is to forward proposals to the Community's decision-making body, the Council of Ministers, in an attempt to foster the process of European integration which began 30 years ago.

This is in the interests of the Bonn government and all political parties in the Federal Republic.

So the ideological basis for discussions can be taken for granted. What is missing is Bonn's willingness to stop jamming on the brakes (as it has been doing for some time) and to stop maintaining that it is the paymaster of Europe.

The claim that Bonn is the real financier of the Community of Twelve is a naive fallacy.

In reality, the benefits of Community membership for the Federal Republic of Germany are difficult to quantify, since Bonn owes so much to trade with Community member states.

As one in four workers in the Federal Republic directly or indirectly depend on export activities it is fair to claim that roughly seven million West German jobs are guaranteed by intra-Community trade.

This asset by far exceeds Bonn's net payments to Brussels in the agricultural field and adds a new dimension to a comparison between the pros and cons of Community membership.

Some of the reasons for Bonn's restrained policy towards the Community are more obvious.

The demands made during mass demonstrations by West German steel industry workers and farmers were also heard in Brussels. The Community's eleven million farmers have undeniably been misled by an abstract agricultural policy.

Bonn should recall, however, that the structure and qualities of individual market regulations in this field were also approved of in Brussels by its own Agriculture Ministers. This also applies to the Community's steel industry policies.

What is needed is a concerted effort to get things sorted out.

The Commission cannot be held responsible for the fact that the food supply situation on the world market has passed saturation point and that there is virtually no outlet for the Community's food surpluses.

The crisis in the steel industry primarily results from the downturn in demand and not from the mistakes made in Brussels.

The lull in the construction industry, the inroads made by plastics into traditional steel supply sectors and the competition of steel plants set up (in some cases with Community funds) in developing countries are its main determinants.

A step in the right direction would be a reduction of agricultural and steel industry capacities.

Although this is a major challenge its significance seems secondary in comparison with the resultant problem. What happens to all the redundant farmers and steel industry workers?

In view of the sagging economy substitute jobs cannot be produced out of a hat.

The state will again be called upon to provide a corresponding social security network.

The current dispute between Bonn and Brussels would be reduced to a minor skirmish if only both sides would think more realistically about what is at stake.

An "economic declaration of war" on the Commission is just as futile as the constant reference to Bonn's obstructions in certain Community policy fields.

After all, Bonn itself approved of the reduction of monetary compensatory amounts in 1984, albeit with the now forgotten proviso that no Community farmer should suffer as a result of this measure.

A further fact is that Chancellor Helmut Kohl supported the creation of a European technology and research policy during the Community summit in Milan in 1985, but that Bonn now rejects an adequate funding of its initial stages.

It is also true that Bonn and West German industry called for the setting up of a large market with no frontiers by 1992, but that Bonn's ministers are making very heavy weather of the 300 legal approximations needed to achieve this goal.

On the other hand, Bonn can quite rightly accuse the Commission of not having taken environmental protection as seriously as the Federal Republic of Germany, itself a major victim of transnational pollution.

Furthermore, the Commission still is still unwilling to shape European transport policy to the needs of a Community withoug frontiers.

After all, the Federal Republic allows cars and lorries from all nations to drive free of charge on the most extensive motorway network in the whole of Western Europe, whereas German motorists in France, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain have to pay for this privilege.

Helmut J. Weiand

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 1 April 1987)

Continued from page 2

ings. As the meetings between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov have shown, such talks are the prerequisite for a new quality in mutual relations and for brisk development in economic affairs, arts and science and, above all, in the humanitarian sector.

The German government will make use of every opportunity of achieving these objectives and devote its full energy and creativity to making progress.

The swift completion of an agreement on environmental protection with the Soviet Union and the forthcoming signing of three agreements on scientific and technological cooperation are first, important steps that must be followed by others.

Soviet Deputy Premier Antonov's visit to Bonn will open up further opportunities in the economic sector.

If progress can be successfully continued, and at present there are more signs that they can than that they cannot, this German-Soviet cooperation should give a powerful boost to relations with neighbouring East and South-East European countries, and with East Germany in particular.

The results of talks held in East Berlin by Herr Schäuble, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, certainly point in this direction.

What will mainly matter is to put our cards on the table, as it were, to make it clear that relations with all these countries and with the Soviet Union are part of an overall policy.

Foreign Minister Genscher and General Secretary Gorbachov expressed their desire in Moscow last July to turn over a "new leaf" in German-Soviet relations. The door has now been opened.

It would open even wider if the disarmament talks between the superpowers were to lead this year to a first specific measure of disarmament. There is a possibility that they might do so.

Horst Teltschik

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 5 April 1987)

Turkey told quietly: it's not quite time to come in yet

Frankfurter Rundschau

Almost all European Community governments have said diplomatically that the present is no time for Turkey to apply for membership of the European Community.

If Turkey persists and does apply, it would not mean that it was doing so out of a sense of national self confidence.

Just the opposite. The worsening of the almost traditional Aegean conflict with Greece, already a Community member, indicates that Turgut Ozal's government is wedged between the still-powerful military and the growing Islamic-fundamentalist movement.

His government seems to be trying to cover up its domestic weakness by steeping up its foreign policy activities.

This is not a good basis for an application for Community membership.

The start of membership negotations requires the approval of all 12 members — and Greece is one. Ozal knows this.

He has already been told that examination of all the problems before any decision was made would take a long time.

Applications by Spain and Portugal took eight years to be processed, and their cases were simpler than Turkey's.

Turkey, therefore, seems hardly likely to become a Community member in this century, if at all.

As most Turks are not aware of all this, Ozal is running the risk of giving delivering them a huge disappointment, which could lead to an estrangement from the West and the withdrawal from Nato.

The Turkish role in the alliance is Ankara's only trump card in this risky manoeuvre. The trial of strength in the Aegean was apparently an attempt to demonstrate this leverage.

The 1963 association agreement between Turkey and the then Community of Six, which thoughtlessly promised the "freedom of movement" of Turkish immigrant workers after 1986 and aroused hopes of accession at a later date, was already the result of gentle pressure from Washington.

However, even Bonn, Rome, and a few other Community member governments which might be impressed by the reference to the aspect of Nato membership should not play along with this line of argument right from the outset.

Although the Greek government leader Andreas Papandreou may not have been a loyal Community partner to begin with he has in the meantime altered his course and is now entitled to the Community's solidarity.

What is more, Nato would stand to lose if pressure is exerted on Athens.

It is clear that Ankara's bilateral problems with Athens must be settled before Turkish application for membership can be seriously considered.

The main problems in this context are: the compensation claims of Greek citizens for private property in Turkey, the controversial flight paths for civilian aircraft, the delimitation of the continental shelf in the Aegean (for oil drilling) and, finally, the occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkish troops in violation of international law and the Greek response of stationing troops on the "demilitarised" (by treaty) islands off the Turkish coast.

Ozal's weak government can hardly be expected to settle these problems without coming unstuck.

However, neither Bonn nor any other European Community government should intervene. Ankara allowed itself to get involved despite advice to the contrary.

The current situation relieves the Community of Twelve of the burden of having to official reject a Turkish application, which it might otherwise have been obliged to do.

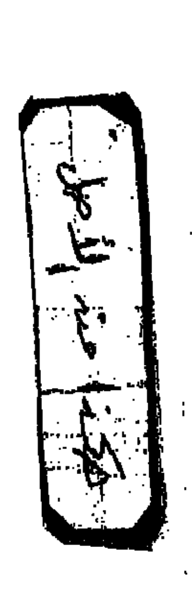
The long-term objective will be to consolidate the Community.

A Norwegian application for membership within the next decade would probably be welcomed.

The incorporation and integration into the Community of Turkey, however, with its unstable democracy and population figure of roughly 60 million people would overtax its ability.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 March 1987)



Hans-Jochen Vogel, the Social Democrat leader in the Bundestag, is to succeed Willy Brandt as party chairman. Vogel's appointment still needs to be confirmed, but this is expected at a party meeting in June. Brandt quit last month in a row over the appointment of a Greek non-party member as spokeswoman.

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

I'm not just a caretaker – new SPD chief Vogel

Hans-Jochen Vogel, 61, has made it clear that he has no intention of being a mere caretaker chairman of the SPD until someone else is found.

Just a month ago, it looked as if he wouldn't even be in the running. The pace was being made by the ambitious Oskar Lafontaine, left-wing Premier of Saarland.

Lafontaine managed a coup last month by getting another left winger, Hans-Ulrich Klose, elected as party treasurer.

But things did not work out as Lafontaine planned. Willy Brandt's sudden resignation caught him on the hop.

An unusually self-assured and resolute Vogel can now enjoy the satisfaction of having beaten Lafontaine to the punch.

Lafontaine has to content himself with the position of deputy party chairman. Vogel knows that this is no guarantee that Lafontaine will stay silent.

When Vogel warns that he is no interim figure he is talking primarily to Lafontaine.

Vogel regards his twofold task as party chairman and chairman of the SPD's parliamentary party as a personal challenge.

Lafontaine does have certain advantages in being only deputy chairman: he doesn't have to worry too much about the party's performance in this year's five *Land* elections. Vogel will have to take the can if the results are bad.

The transition from Brandt to Vogel marks a big change in style. Vogel is hardly likely to have made the mistake of appointing a Greek spokeswoman who is not even in the party.

Brandt's workstyle must have often irritated the Vogel, a pernickety lawyer. He must have felt that Brandt's approach was too casual, too nebulous and on many occasions too full of compromise.

When Helmut Schmidt resigned as Chancellor in 1983, Vogel was Brandt's favourite to run as the SPD's candidate for Chancellor.

Both tried to secure the support of the majority Brandt had set his sights on, on the left of the CDU/CSU.

By joining forces with Brandt, Vogel lost some of his reputation as a party right-winger.

But although Vogel is not in fact Brandt's kind of party left-winger, he is probably the best man to integrate the various currents of thought in the party.

Whether Lafontaine will help him remains to be seen. Vogel has a passion for punctuality and is a hard-worker. Lafontaine once told Helmut Schmidt that these qualities were also needed to run a concentration camp — a remark which shows how difficult collaboration between the two is likely to be.

Vogel's brother is Bernhard Vogel, Premier of the Rhineland-Palatinate. Bernhard is a member of the Christian Democrats.

That is not the only difference. Their characters are poles apart. Bernhard always seems cheerful. Hans-Jochen generally looks serious, almost sad.

He also has a reputation of acting like a head teacher. It is a reputation he is trying hard to lose.

Some formality is part of his nature and voters who share his sense of crisis feel that he is the right man for the job.

He is the opposite of the perpetual "keep smiling" image displayed during US election campaigns.

His personality traits also differ considerably from those of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which may make it difficult to find common ground.

The first response to Vogel's refusal to act as Lafontaine's forerunner came from Lafontaine himself, who has postponed the decision on who is to be the party's next candidate for chancellorship until the end of 1990.

Lafontaine has opted for more patience following the unrestrained impatience he demonstrated during the election of Hans-Ulrich Klose as SPD treasurer four weeks ago.



Headmaster Image . . . Vogel. (Photo: Sven Si)

Of course, this is no voluntary breather for Lafontaine on the way to the top.

The designated deputy party chairman Lafontaine has offered the designated party chairman Vogel a division of work in the party executive committee.

Knowing his rival the way he does, Vogel must feel a bit uneasy *about* this kind of offer.

Hermann Eich

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 25 March 1987)

The two sides to tough-talking teetotal Johnny Klein

The new Minister for Economic Cooperation in Bonn, Hans Klein (CSU), is called "Johnny" by his colleagues in the Bundestag.

That gives some idea of his informal and casual approach to politics.

But there is also another side: Not only Social Democrats regard him as a *scharfer Hund* (a fierce dog).

One of Klein's predecessors in office, Social Democrat Hans Jürgen Wischnewski, feels that Klein's appointment will introduce a more human touch to Ministry affairs. But he also says Klein will be tough.



Informal touch . . . Klein. (Photo: Poly-Press)

The Greens criticise Klein's dual personality structure in their own inimitable way.

During his swearing-in ceremony as Minister in the Bundestag the Greens Bundestag member Stratmann shouted out the word "blasphemy" after Klein concluded his constitutional oath with the words "so help me God".

The Greens justified their gesture by claiming that Klein is an extreme right winger and that he supports an extension of arms exports. Both claims are not true.

The new Economic Cooperation Minister is simply fond of talking tough even if he is advocating liberal and not just conservative ideas.

His profession as a journalist shows through when he adopts a more liberal minded stance.

Klein was not only the Bonn correspondent of a number of newspapers for many years, but also Press Officer in the Bonn Chancellery in 1965.

He is not a typical CSU politician. He doesn't drink beer (in fact he doesn't drink any form of alcohol), and wasn't born in Bavaria. He was born in Mährisch-Schönberg, now part of Czechoslovakia, in 1931. He is a *Catholic* and has three children.

After working as a journalist Klein joined the diplomatic service as a press attaché in 1959. In 1968 he became the Press Chief for the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972.

He was elected to the Bundestag in 1976. He is one of the very few CSU politicians who dares argue with the party chairman Franz Josef Strauss. But both get on extremely well.

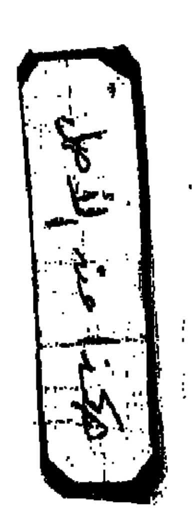
After the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition came to power in 1982, Klein was elected foreign policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party.

Klein was already considered for the post of secretary of state in the Foreign Office during previous cabinet reshuffles. He has been regarded as having ministerial calibre for some time.

Klein has not yet made a *name for* himself as a development policy expert. He is convinced, however, that the foreign policy and development policy fields have a great deal in common.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 March 1987)



■ CELEBRATIONS

Seeing what Berlin might look like one day

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The City of the Future is the simple topic of a congress to mark the opening of the International Building Exhibition (IBA) in Berlin in May.

The events is part of Berlin's 750th birthday celebrations. Visitors and congress delegates will be able to get an idea of what Berlin might look like one day.

Idealistic architectural initiatives have been planned. So have realistic slum clearance schemes and architectural visions.

There is a wide range of reconstruction, modernisation and new building projects.

IBA chief architect Professor Josef Paul Kleihues has a staff of about 150 architects, including 40 from abroad.

From the IBA headquarters in Lindenstrasse they plan to show the "city as an exhibition project."

Visitors will be able to tour sites, see model projects and attend model events.

The IBA official handout says: "The three city-centre demonstration areas southern Friedrichstadt, southern Tiergarten and Prager Platz have been badly hit, and not just in the Second World War.

"Their real destruction was not wrought until after the war when not just ruined buildings and buildings that might have been rebuilt but buildings that were in largely satisfactory condition were ruthlessly demolished.

"This policy was one of the saddest chapters in the city's architectural history. They make the aim of reconstructing the ruined city understandable.

"The city as it was in the 18th or 19th centuries is not, of course, to be restored. The aim is a critical reconstruction bearing modern conveniences in mind."

Hardt-Waltherr Hämer, a refurbisher of old buildings and back-yard tenement blocks in the Kreuzberg area, is more radical and to the point in what he has to say about what remains of a murdered city:

"The speculators will be delighted when the IBA is over. Once the process of social criticism is over an area that has the highest population density of children in the world will again face the threat of demolition."

He cites as a point to be discussed with many other historic cities facing problems similar to Kreuzberg's the May 1985 Council of Europe symposium in Seville.

"Kreuzberg," he says, "is typical of the transformation that has taken place in the post-industrial era, a transformation from government provisions to a local, decentralised fresh start, mobilising the vital forces of the area for a project that stands for social and cultural values.

"The aims include education and training in the borough, local employment, reconstruction and revitalisation of the architectural environment and of public works and a closely-knit cultural life as a motive force for new forms of solidarity.

"Characteristic features of the Kreuzberg approach can in the long run prevail only on condition that they are followed elsewhere, both in Berlin and Germany and abroad.

"Problems of urban renewal are on the increase all over the world, but in Berlin they are particularly marked, due both to the city's insular location and to the particularly heavy concentration of 19th century tenements in city-centre boroughs on both sides of the Wall."

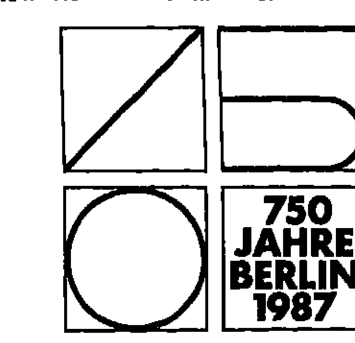
A high-grade IBA exhibition in the Neue Nationalgalerie called "750 Years of Architecture and Town Planning in Berlin" demonstrates that urban renewal is a never-ending process.

Berlin has always been a bumper building-site and a challenge to architects, kings, generals, soldiers of economic fortune, princes of the church, artisans and inventors of tenement block-building.

Professor Kleihues would like this historic exhibition, which in its eight sections can only illustrate in brief the origins, transformation and destruction of the city, to be seen in close connection with the IBA.

Numerous visions and architectural castles in the air have accordingly been incorporated in the retrospective. Professor Kleihues says: "That something new is unknown need not mean it has been discovered for the first time. So the portrayal of previously unknown documents as part of the exhibition is only one part of the objective.

"Shedding light — or an enlarged or new view — on historical contexts or making cultural policy interfaces beyond Berlin and the time limitation of individual sections is the other."



This somewhat confusing statement by Kleihues the planner refers to historical eras of development or demolition that do not always make sense as arranged.

They are: The Twin Cities of Berlin and Köln (1237-1701); On the Way to the King, City-Centre Design and Urban Expansion (1701-86); Classicism and Romanticism (1786-1848); The Schinkel School: Tenement Blocks and Historic Splendour (1848-1889); Collective Movements, Metropolitan Dreams and Harbingers of a New Architecture (1889-1918); Utopia and Modern Rationalism (1918-1933); Nazi Architecture: Decoration of Power (1933-1945) and Reconstruction, Second Destruction and New Trends (post-1945).

The epilogue is a view of itself by the IBA replete with self-praise. The city, housing, blocks, streets and squares, gardens and parks — but not a hint of

Continued on page 6

This is one of an occasional series to mark the 750th anniversary of the founding of Berlin



Past, present, future . . . Changes everywhere, but the Brandenburg Gate remains unchanged. (Photo: Archives)

How pastor Symeon set seal on a day of doubtful pedigree

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

West Berlin is spending DM100m this year on a municipal anniversary that isn't strictly what it purports to be.

The culprit or cause of all this expense is a 13th-century clergyman, Symeon of Cölln, who witnessed and sealed a treaty between the Brandenburg Church and the Margraves Johann and Otto on 28 October 1237.

This historic document has survived for 750 years and now serves as a "birth certificate" for the twin cities of Berlin and Cölln.

The occasion for such lavish festivities may, to quote Berlin historian Wolfgang Ribbe, be slight, but that will worry no-one when Herbert von Karajan raises his baton in the Congress Centre on 30 April for the inaugural concert.

From then on there will be one event after another: exhibitions, readings, concerts, stage performances, funfairs, conferences and festivities.

The aim of the exercise has been outlined in a remarkable resolution by the Christian and Free Democrat Senate of Berlin.

"The civic jubilee," it stated, "is an occasion for a review of Berlin and German policy that must be put across to people in Berlin, to all Germans and to our partners all over the world."

Political and ideological objectives of this kind are to be found throughout the major historical exhibitions that form part of the anniversary year.

They range from the Berlin history exhibition in the Martin Gropius Building to the science exhibition in the Kongresshalle and the "Journey to Berlin" exhibition in the Hamburger Bahnhof.

The Senate has approved expenditure totalling DM23.5m for the historical exhibitions alone in order to ensure that the message is put across.

A further DM11m is to be invested in a programme of stage events of which the highlights will include guest performances by the Bolshoi Opera from Moscow and the Scala from Milan.

Alternative List politicians were not amused. They complained in the budget debate that the whole programme was much too expensive.

They said that millions could be saved if, instead of inviting theatre companies to visit Berlin, Berliners were paid grants to go to Brussels, Moscow, London, Paris and New York to see the original shows.

This criticism ironically echoed one of the chief complaints about the programme. Whatever else they may be called, the 750th anniversary celebrations can hardly be termed a festival by Berliners for Berliners.

The anniversary expenditure is aimed strictly at a species of homo sapiens Berlin seeks to please at any time of the year: the tourist.

A gigantic open-air stage for 25,000 people is, for instance, being built near the Victory Column in the Tiergarten for performances of a four-part revue entitled *SternStunden*.

It will include a show featuring 1920s music, a revue about an average family between 1950 and 1980 and a historic spectacular of classical music from Bach to Offenbach.

The Berlin daily *Tageszeitung* sees the programme as bearing witness to mediocre megalomania.

But criticism has so far been the exception, due mainly to the astute Arts Senator, Volker Hassemer, who has shrewdly included in his festival planning the main opponents of the 750th anniversary celebrations.

The Trades Union Confederation (DGB), for instance, was awarded a grant to hold an exhibition of its own after the DGB's Michael Pagels had caused a rumpus.

Social Democratic arts policy expert Harry Ristock was voted chairman of a parliamentary committee on which the CDU-FDP majority gave the Senate's plans its blessing.

In other respects the organisers are banking mainly on ordinary tourist tastes and interests. A historic funfair extending from the Reichstag to the Victory Column will feature 300 years of Berlin amusements.

A city festival will give visitors an opportunity for playful encounter with

Continued on page 14

■ THE ECONOMY

A rich south, a poor north – a common belief but an over-simplification

A north-south divide exists in Germany if unemployment figures alone are considered. These show that the south is flourishing and the north is doing badly.

Unemployment in Bremen is 16.1 per cent; in Hamburg 14 per cent. But in the southern state of Baden-Württemberg, it is a mere 5.5 per cent.

Unemployment is lower than the national average everywhere in the south — 7.5 per cent in Hesse and nine per cent in Bavaria.

Up north, in contrast, the larger *Länder* fare little better than the city-states. Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony both have 13 per cent out of work, while North Rhine-Westphalia, with the industrial heartlands of the Rhine and the Ruhr, has 11.4 per cent.

But it is not necessarily pertinent to take these figures in isolation. Unemployment figures are clear. Other yardsticks of affluence or poverty are less straightforward.

In terms of gross domestic product per employed person, a means of com-

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

paring per capita economic performance, Hamburg clearly tops the league.

Per capita output in Hamburg is nearly DM70,000 of goods and services per annum, as against a mere DM48,000 in Baden-Württemberg.

Bavarians are even lower in the ratings, yet they head the list when it comes to annual economic growth rates in the *Länder*.

Yet when prosperity is measured in terms of the available incomes of private households, which seems a far from unreasonable yardstick, the Saar suddenly tops the list.

In terms of consumer spending Baden-Württemberg is tops. The proverbially thrifty Swabians are the country's big spenders, with annual average expenditure of DM37,000 per household.

Given such contradictory findings the North-South divide theory would seem less convincing.

"It would above all be wrong to assume that a poor North is growing steadily poorer and a rich South steadily richer," write Margot Körber-Weik and Susanne Wied-Nebbeling in a 260-page survey commissioned by the Federal Economic Affairs Ministry.

The two Tübingen academics work for the Institute of Applied Economic Research (CIAW).

The conclusion they reach is that differences in the level and pace of economic development exist from *Land* to *Land*, but they are less than the North-South divide theory might lead one to believe.

Besides, they by no means always fit the North-South pattern. Depending on the yardstick adopted, each *Land* varies in rating between first and last.

The Tübingen survey outlines a more complex pattern of regional economic potential and development than the simple assumption that the South is rich and the North poor.

They distinguish between four groups of *Länder*, depending on levels of earnings and output and on their pace of development.

The first group consists of Lower Saxony, the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Saar and Bavaria.

In terms of income and output they come low on the list but all are above average in growth rates.

Bavaria, for instance, comes last in the list of earnings of employed persons, whereas it tops the list of percentage growth rates.

North Rhine-Westphalia and the city-states of Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg make up a contrasting group. They have high levels of earnings and output but their growth rates are unimpressive.

The situation is even more problematic for a third group that combines low earnings and output and a low growth rate. But it consists of only one *Land*, Schleswig-Holstein.

Hesse and Baden-Württemberg bask, in contrast, on the sunny side of the street.

Hesse has a medium, Baden-Württemberg a high level of earnings and output. Both have above-average growth rates.

"Baden-Württemberg," the survey says, "heads the list in respect of both prosperity indicators and the labour market."

The south-western *Land* is also the only one to combine both above-average growth and an above-average level of earnings and output.

Yet the survey states a few reservations where this assessment is concerned.

It notes that while growth rates may differ considerably, earnings and output levels differ so little that talk of a divide is somewhat exaggerated.

This, Körber-Weik and Wied-Nebbeling say, is a finding "in keeping with expectations in respect of a unified economic region with natural and historical framework conditions that favour a relative balance in regional structure."

Where growth is concerned, the report finds that the pattern has since the 1970s been basically in accordance with the North-South pattern, with the exception of Lower Saxony, which lines up alongside the southern *Länder* in achieving above-average growth.

The divide is strikingly apparent in respect of unemployment, but less so in terms of output, earnings and employment.

Neither author sees the *divide* as it stands as being economically undesirable, let alone alarming.

Distinctions in economic potential between one *Land* and another tend to be offset when weaker *Länder* have higher growth rates and stronger *Länder* have lower ones.

The greatest discrepancies in economic potential were found to exist between regions within *Länder* and not between *Länder*.

In Lower Saxony, for instance, there are areas where unemployment is over 13 per cent higher than in others. This bandwidth is greater than the difference in unemployment between Bremen and Baden-Württemberg.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 March 1987)

Continued from page 5

scandal! A shrewd aphorism by Bert Brecht adorns the facade. "Thought," it says, "is something that follows difficulties and precedes action."

The grand old man of German architectural history, Julius Posener, a live wire and witty speaker, took an ironic view of the pointlessness of holding separate anniversary celebrations in the two halves of the city in his address to the Governing Mayor and guests of honour in the Nationalgalerie.

He pointed straight away at the basic shortcomings of an architectural show that makes such lavish claims in its very title.

The first 300 years, he said, had been virtually missed out. Yet the surviving small village churches were still there to be seen in the environs of the city.

The architectural demonstration begins with the Memhardt plan, dating back to 1652. Earlier original documents are not on show. Yet many illustrations, footnotes, explanations — and original documents — could have been displayed.

The exhibition is entered via a funnel-shaped entrance leading to the rooms housing the various sections. Visionary projects, models and paintings are undeniably amazing.

Yet prior knowledge can, however, be extremely useful since historic links between and explanations about famous architects from Andreas Schlüter to Erich Mendelsohn, from Karl Friedrich Schinkel to Peter Behrens, from Alfred Messel to Mies van der Rohe, can otherwise be only guesswork.

The exhibition is nonetheless sheer delight and a feast for the senses.

Visitors keen to see several designs for the Reichstag will be satisfied. But little is to be learnt about the Kaiser and the Weimar Republic, the Nazis and their megalomania.

An opportunity of telling the public about the power and powerlessness of architecture has been missed. And, of course, Berlin (East) is missing.

Hans Bertram Bock

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 March 1987)

Rise in foreign investment by Germany

Since the mid-1970s, the rate of German investment in companies and shareholdings abroad has been higher than foreign investments in Germany.

The Bundesbank says that at the end of 1985, Germans owned manufacturing, marketing and service companies worth DM131bn abroad. Foreign company investment in the Federal Republic totalled a mere DM88bn.

German company investment abroad has trebled in nine years, whereas foreign investment in the Federal Republic has increased by only 40 per cent.

The difference has been most striking in relations with the United States. In 1976 US industrial investment in the German economy was five times higher than German investment in the United States.

By 1985 German investment in the United States was DM5bn higher than US investment in the Federal Republic. How has this fundamental change come about?

Older readers will recall the challenging theory put forward by French historian Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber in 1967 that American "invaders" were in the process of taking Europe over lock, stock and barrel.

He discouragingly forecast that in about 15 years US industry in Europe, not European industry, would be the world's third industrial power after the United States and the Soviet Union. This forecast was widely accepted. Now it can be dismissed.

With US competition on its doorstep European industry had to boost productivity and ensure that it grew more competitive.

In the process US corporations were seen to have a monopoly of neither innovation nor entrepreneurial spirit nor hard work.

The twilight of the Gods came in 1973 when the dollar plummeted in a resounding crash. The almighty dollar was devalued by roughly 40 per cent in relation to European currencies.

That was the outward sign and inevitable consequences of this change in economic relations. Consolidation of the deutschemark was a signal for German companies to embark on a new phase of counter-attack.

The US invasion of Germany was transformed into a German invasion of the United States. This reversal of roles has occurred in relations with nearly all countries except Japan.

Japan is an exception. To this day foreign companies find it hard to set up subsidiaries or buy shareholdings there.

The Federal Republic has more assets than liabilities in the rest of the world. That isn't a bad track record, especially as many leading German firms have reached a size that can only be increased in international business.

Higher shares of world output and world trade can only be gained in international competition by setting up production facilities, marketing operations and service networks on the spot in foreign markets.

With their aid protectionist moves by individual countries can be undermined.

Companies with domestic production facilities can hardly have goods turned back at the border.

Production costs abroad are often lower than at home. Labour costs in particular have reached peak international levels in Germany, with wages less of a burden than ancillary costs such as social security, health insurance and taxes of one kind and another.

Net wage bills now make up only 40 per cent of labour costs in the Federal Republic.

Another, important point is that goods manufactured abroad by subsidiaries of German companies do not boost German exports and an export surplus that particularly annoys the United States.

German industry need have no fears should Americans start to invest more heavily in Germany again.

They will not do so until the dollar is stronger, and German firms will profit in other ways from a stronger dollar.

Rudolf Herlt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 March 1987)

■ INDUSTRY

Mass sackings likely in steel closures

The steel industry has been persistently beset by crises since 1975. The alarm bells are again ringing.

Over the past 13 years there has been one short period of recovery but again the industry faces disaster. For the first time steel companies have decided to close plant down, as in Hattingen in the Ruhr and Oberhausen.

Thousands of redundancies will be unavoidable — this will be a social and political catastrophe in the steel industry where there is worker participation in management.

Mass dismissals will be provocative and will embitter the trades unions, workers councils, the workforce and city councillors, and thousands of families will be left in despair.

The steel crisis predominantly involves the industry's structure and its adjustment to a changed international situation. There are too many blast furnaces, steelworks and rolling mills in Europe. According to EC Commission estimates overcapacities range from between 30 million to 32 million tons annually.

This adds up to two-thirds of the total technical production capacity in the Federal Republic, Europe's largest steel manufacturer.

Prices are brought under pressure by overcapacities. The strong mark has attracted cheap steel from South Korea, Brazil and Eastern Europe with magnetic force. The hardest hit are hot-blast, heavy-plate and sectional steel — heavy-plate steel is used mainly in the shipbuilding industry and sectional steel is much used in building.

Overcapacities are at the worst in these catagories of steel production, and crisis management set up by the Commission in Brussels has not been able to change things much.

Since 1980 the EC has apportioned production quotas to every steel group within the Community. An army of officials has supervised this operation. The aim was to put a stop to ruinous competition, but above all things ensure that companies, in their plight, did not produce in quantities that brought pressure to bear on prices.

In the short-term the quota system created chaos, in the long-term it did relieve the steel crisis but did not resolve it.

In the first place Brussels did not have the will to adjust the quota system again to demand, that, since 1980, had dropped.

Then the holes in the protection system got larger as more and more cheap steel from countries outside the European Community were imported.

Firstly there was a group of states with whom the European Community had concluded steel contracts. Instead of supplying the whole range of their steel production, according to contract, these states concentrated on a single product in the European, preferably the West German, market and in doing this dragged down the price. Other countries, with whom no contracts had been concluded, offered their steel at prices that just covered interest and capital repayment costs for their steel works.

West German steel groups followed the crowd. They disregarded all their experiences of market discipline and undercut prices just to keep their steel works in operation.

Repeatedly trading houses of the major steel groups threw wood on the fire and bought steel for their mechanical engineering subsidiaries not within house but worldwide where they could buy at the cheapest price possible.

By far and away the the worst hit were manufacturers of hard-plate and sectional steel. Thyssen Stahl lost about M150m in heavy-plate steel last year. This was in part the result of the crisis in West Germany's shipyards, that take up most of heavy-plate steel production.

The poor turnover position in heavy and light sectional steel production threatens the existence of the Maxhütte steelworks in the Upper Palatinate as well as Saarstahl, yet again, that for years has only managed to survive by means of artificial respiration.

The traditional steel production town of Hattingen in the Ruhr, where Thyssen plans to close blast furances, steel works and the heavy-plate rolling mill and make 2,900 redundant, is ablaze with anger.

Of the 18,000 jobs in Hattingen, 4,500 of them are directly dependent on the steel production.

The city stands four-square with the labourforce and the trade union, IG Metall, in opposing this axing threat and the destruction of a once-flourishing industry.

Politicians in Düsseldorf, the state capital, Bonn and Brussels do not want to see the industry die off. They are urgently looking around to find a socially-acceptable transitional way into the future without steel.

But here also there is not sufficient will. Until now the steel industry with its worker participation in managment has always been successful in organising without fuss unavoidable cut-backs in the labourforce with early retirement at 55 and redundancies. For the first time this has not been possible in Hattingen.

Making thousands of steelworkers unemployed is apparently unavoidable.

The steel groups are working on the idea of setting up a steel foundation that, financially support by central government and the states, would avoid leaving younger steelworkers in the lurch. They would be protected under the foundation umbrella for one or two years, given further training or re-trained with skills that are going to be needed in the future.

There are question marks behind this foundation, however. The state government of North Rhine-Westphalia is disinclined to make cash available for a project that the government believes the steel companies should shoulder. After all the steel groups in this country made DM690m in profits last year.

Policy is currently concerned with attracting alternative jobs into the theatened steel cities.

Employment Minister Norbert Blüm has demanded that "the steel companies should not be allowed just to decamp," pointing out that groups such as Thyssen, Klöckner or Mannesmann have been built up into technological empires with subsidies with plenty of funds to invest.

State loans should attract new companies. What is required is the acceptance of structural responsiblity by the state government and extraordinary efforts on the part of Prime Minister Johannes Rau.

He must call the companies in his state together and convince them to concentrate their investment in future on the steel industry. There is more at stake than just the steel industry's social responsibility for a region, from which it has lived for a hundred years.

It is now a question of maintaining affected people's confidence in state and national policies and not disappointing them.

Frank Bünte

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 29 March 1987)

Pits in jeopardy as coal price turns consumers elsewhere

For the last time a shift worked the "Minister Stein" pit in Dortmund on 31 March.

This meant the end to coal-mining in Dortmund, following in the steps of Essen, Mühlheim and Bochum.

The closure of the Dortmund mine could be the first of a further series of pit closures.

There are already threats of closing down a coal-mine in the Saar, and the coal-mining group at Eschweiler, near Aachen, is fighting for its life.

The situation in the coal-mining industry is worse than it has ever been. Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann (FDP) wrote to his party colleagues: "West German coal must adjust its production capacities to structural changes."

Everything is happening at once. There is a declining demand for coal. The price is disadvantage of domestic coal has become greater since oil, natural gas and imported coal became cheaper last year. Coal's competitive position can only be preserved by considerable subsidies.

West German power plants, coal's most important customers, are uneasy. Increased electricity demand is lesser than it was at the beginning of the 1980s.

Furthermore the *Jahrhundertvertrag*, the coal sales agreeement between the industry as a whole and power plants concluded in 1980 to last until 1995, is pinching.

Then France is adding to the surplus position by offering cheap electricity so as to utilise to the full its nuclear-power plants.

Minister Bangemann has aroused considerable political discussion on the future of the "coal penny," an additional amount charged, since 1975, on every unit of gas and electricity. It is a hidden

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

tax used to subsidise the building of coal-fueled power stations and cheapen German coal to the power industry.

This touches the raw nerve of the German coal-mining industry, for without the billions in subsidies it gets from the "coal penny" it would undoubtedly die out altogether.

The *Jahrhundertvertrag* ensures sales of over DM40m annually. The "coal penny" brings the price of 35 million tons of that total down to world market levels.

Coal for power plants currently costs only between DM80 and DM110 per ton within Germany. Heavy fuel-oil is currently being quoted at DM170 within the Ruhr, but measured in terms of *Tonne Steinkohle-Einheit*, the German system of calculating thermal units, the coal costs DM255 per ton because geological conditions make it more expensive to mine West German coal.

The Hamburg economic research institute (HWWA) complains about the "coal penny" arrangement.

An institute spokesman said there was no comprehensible reason why electrical power consumers should be called in to maintain the domestic coal industry, although it is accepted that coal is important for regional employment policies. "This means that it is impossible to apply free market economy policies to coal."

Total number of jobs in coal, iron and steel industries (March 86)

North Rhine-Westphalia 338000
Schleswig-Holstein/Hamburg 7000
Lower Saxony/Bremen 54000
Hesse 16000
4000 Rhineland-Palatinate
Saarland 42 000
Bavaria 17000
16000 Baden-Württemberg
Globus 8537

Rudolf von Bennigsen, the head of Veba, is an authoity on nuclear power and coal, since Veba now has a de facto majority in Ruhrkohle. He quoted the English eighteenth century political economist Adam Smith saying that free market forces never guarantee market security.

From time immemorial the subsidy for coal was founded on the idea that it would protect the national economy from the ups and downs of international energy price movements. The coal pits were the only real domestic energy source and therefore of strategic value.

But for a long time now coal has not been indispensible. This was not fully understood by those selling coal during the past years of high energy prices and they made no efforts to win over new customers.

Persistently industry, heating plant operators and private households preferred oil, gas or electrical power. Coal customers have been lost in the home and commercial heating sectors.

Furthermore Bonn's expensive environmental protection measures have dampened enthusiasm for coal, making it difficult for people to turn to it for heating.

Steelworks, committed to domestic coking coal until the turn of the century through the iron and steel works contract, (which is channelled through the coking coal subsidy bringing the price to the lowest world level) have themselves been in a crisis for a long time.

Blast furnaces are unlikely to require the 20 million tons they are expected to consume because of expected production cutbacks and improved techniques.

Demand for a further 15 million tons of coking will fall away up to 1988 — these exports will no longer be subsidised.

This leaves only the power plants to carry the German mining industry. But power plant executives are finding themselves in a Catch 22 situation because of the decline in demand for electrical power.

The country's 17 nuclear power plants were already producing 120 billion kilowatt hours of current last year, 77 per cent of nominative capacity.

This year two new nuclear power stations providing 2,700 megawatts will

Continued on page 8

■ CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Mineral-water makers squirt back at health-hazard allegations

The Soviet reactor accident at Chernobyl a year ago has boosted sales of mineral water. People think it is safer than tap water.

But Chernobyl has only helped the trend: bottled mineral water sales have been increasing for years, probably because of a general fear of pollution.

Last year every West German drank 65 litres of mineral water — 14 per cent more than in 1985.

Trade figures show a steady increase: from 8.5 litres in 1960 to 12.5 litres in 1970 and 39.6 litres in 1980.

Authorities say German tap water is clean, but people seldom drink it these days.

People have more money and can afford bottled drinks. Motorists need something non-alcoholic. Soft-drinks makers also benefit, of course.

The upward trend in sales might be about to slow: 240 brands of mineral water were tested and the results published in the March issue of *Natur* magazine.

Half were found to be unfit to drink mostly because their sodium or nitrate levels were too high.

The trade association countered by applying for an injunction. The magazine is liable to a fine of up to DM500,000 if it reprints the findings.

Natur, the trade argues, has turned the facts upside down in disregard of

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

both legal provisions and established scientific facts "to boost its circulation by means of a campaign aimed at making people worried about the alleged health hazard of mineral waters."

The association is determined not only to sue for damages anyone who reprints the test findings; it will also start legal proceedings against mineral water producers who are unable to resist the temptation to use the test findings in their advertising.

These are strong words, but they are unlikely to remedy the damage. The magazine soon sold out, so photocopies of the controversial article are now circulating.

People in staff canteens are refusing to drink brands of mineral water that were found to have too high a salt count, while consumers seem to be switching brands to those they think are safer.

People have entirely forgotten the informative report on mineral waters in the June 1986 issue of *Test* magazine entitled "No Two Springs Are Alike."

They will certainly have forgotten the 16 November 1981 article in the Hamburg newsweekly *Der Spiegel* entitled "Murky Waters."

A survey carried out by the Hesse Social Affairs Ministry was said by *Der Spiegel* to have found that many mineral water samples were not up to standard. Traces of dirt had been found in some bottles.

The samples, 571 in number, were taken on 31 July 1980. Forty-four per cent were found to be unsatisfactory.

What is mineral water exactly? On 3 August 1984 regulations governing natural mineral water, spring and table waters came into force.

These regulations, known as MTVO for short, brought previous regulations that had been in force for nearly 50 years into line with uniform European Community provisions.

Mineral water must come from an underground source. It must be originally pure. It must have a certain nutritional effect by virtue of its count of minerals, trace elements and other substances.

Spring water used to be defined as low-mineral water, table water as artificial mineral water or, in certain cases, as soda water.

An innovation resulting from the new regulations is that waters may now be sold in the Federal Republic as "natural mineral water" that fail to reach the previous minimum count of 1,000 milligrams of soluble minerals per litre.

In such cases special laboratory findings must show the water to be of nutritional benefit.

"No water is officially approved by the Federal Health Ministry," the *Test* magazine report says, "until comprehensive chemical analysis has probed its count of about 200 different substances."

No two spring waters are alike. The human body may need minerals but it is worth taking the trouble of checking to see whether a mineral water contains the most favourable combination of minerals and trace elements.

The main substances to bear in mind are indicated on the label.

The layman is way out of his depth, of course, unless he happens to have taken a closer interest in the subject — especially as there is no clear legal ruling on what the label has to specify.

Nitrate levels are unlikely to be lis... The *Test* report says that water wit... sodium count of over 300 milligr... per litre (and a corresponding chlo... count: sodium chloride is salt) is b... avoided by people who must keep t... low-salt diet.

They include people suffering fr... high blood pressure and kidney co... plaints. Yet mineral waters in this c... gory are just right after physical ex... cise, diarrhoea and nausea. They reg... the body's electrolytic balance.

Natur says adults can only be wh... recommended to drink brands of m... eral water with a nitrate count o... more than 25 milligrams and a so... count of no more than 150 millig... per litre.

That particularly riles the trade... ciation because the magazine dra... link between the regulations gover... tap water, which require lower sod... levels.

These levels are necessary for tech... cal reasons and not on health grounds... argues. Their aim is to protect wa... pipes from corrosion.

Most consumers don't need to p... over mineral water brand names a... labels because their usual stores d... stock all that many brands.

The trade consists mainly of small- medium-sized firms. *There may be a*... estimated 200 firms with 500 bran... named waters in the Federal Repub... but only a handful are sold nationwide.

They include Gerolsteiner, in whi... the Bitburg brewery holds a major... stake, and Apollinaris, owned by Do... munder Union-Schultheiss.

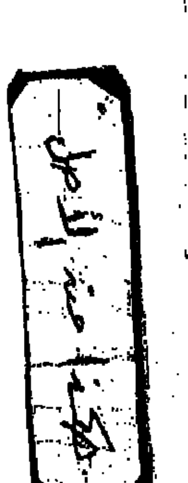
Nationwide advertising is expensiv... The trade agreed over 30 years ago on... uniform mineral water bottle, so long... waters aren't sold in the standard Ge... man bottle (which suits the trade fine)...

It also cuts costs considerably. R... usable bottles are hailed as ecological... admirable. Only an estimated five p... cent of mineral water sold in Germany... sold in no deposit, no return containers.

Foreign manufacturers see the reu... able bottle as a restrictive practice d... signed, or at least likely, to make acce... to the German market more difficult.

European Community officials a... certainly checking whether competitio... is in fact impeded. Consumers, on th... other hand, often find it difficult to d... tinguish between returnable and no... returnable bottles at the point of sal...

Gudrun Stamp
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 March 198...)



Continued from page 7

be added. Assuming electrical production at 1986 levels reactor utilisation would drop to 69 per cent or 5,970 hours. If there was round-the-clock production there were considerable basic overcapacities.

Veba finance director Klaus Piltz, well aware of the cost factors in energy production, pointed towards the Veba subsidiary Preussenelektra in Hanover, the largest nuclear power station in the Federal Republic. It was no coincidence that he pointed out that nuclear reactors could already hold their own with coal-fired power plants when utilised at 5,000 hours annually.

Arguments such as these are bad news for coalminers. They have assumed that their coal-fired power plants, used at a medium level — between 4,200 to 5,500 working hours per year — would be able to offer a cheap alternative to nuclear power.

Rudolf von Benningsen finds this proposal "foolish." The nuclear stations are getting ready to take on coal in this medium range. It is then no accident that the states with nuclear power plant, Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bavaria, complain the loudest about the "coal penny."

Economic Affairs Minister Bangemann said a year ago: "We now have the same situation for legislators who had the comparison with oil prices before them when the coal penny was devised."

But Bangemann now seems to have changed his viewpoint. The mining industry is beginning to regard with distrust the policies he is pursuing.

In 1983 the mining industry and Bonn agreed to reduce production by ten million tons up to 1988. This would mean the loss of 25,000 jobs.

But Bonn's new policies and Bangemann's latest demands for structural adjustments clearly indicate that production must be reduced from its present 80 million tons annually to below 70 million.

Leonhard Spielhofer
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 March 1987)

■ AVIATION

European airlines given ultimatum to open up skies to competition

European airlines are not allowed to run price cartels under the Treaty of Rome. The European Court of Justice ruled that last year. But they still do. Now the European Community has given the airlines a deadline to come with a plan to open up competition — 30 June. Brussels Commissioner Peter Sutherland, of Ireland, wanted last month to start legal action against Lufthansa, Alitalia and Olympic Airways, but more time is now being given. British Airways, Air France, KLM, SAS, Sabena and Aer Lingus are also under investigation for running price agreements. Most of the deals involve two-airline arrangements between the respective countries, with 50 per cent of the trade going to each national carrier. Now the plan is for 20 per cent to go to each national carrier, leaving 60 per cent for other airlines in open competition. The European Commission has warned that provisional plans to exclude airlines from the Treaty of Rome regulations governing competition will be scrapped if the airlines don't come to heel by 1992. European fares are nearly 20 per cent higher than American. The growth in the number of passengers carried is about a third as much as in America since 1980.

Lufthansa chief executive Heinz Ruhnau is not prepared to say in detail what the changes are likely to cost the airline.

But it is clear that the old days when it could make huge profits by charging what it liked are over.

The European Court ruling last year which stated that airlines are not excluded from Treat of Rome competition regulations, gave the go ahead for Peter Sutherland, the European Commissioner responsible for competition, to start acting against airlines persisting with reciprocal deals.

Three airlines, Lufthansa, Alitalia and Olympic Airways, have been called on in writing by the European Commission to spell out how they plan to open competition up in the long term.

Price agreements between airlines are an established practice in civil aviation even though they may be reluctant to admit that agreements are reached on rates and services.

As a rule national flag carriers reach agreement on how many services a day they will operate in each direction between their two countries, which aircraft are to be used and what fares are to be charged.

The usual practice is that airlines share the number of flights and the revenue from all flights on a particular route.

At the year's end they simply split the difference — profit or loss — and in this way keep unwelcome competitors virtually out of the running.

Airlines, Lufthansa included, astutely argue that such arrangements are in the passenger's interest. Aircraft safety, reliable services and no-problem switching from one airline to another on a given route are thereby ensured.

Yet the European Commission would dearly like to spike the airlines' guns. It won't be easy. The Treaty of Rome is clear on the points in question, but noone in individual European Community member-countries has yet seriously challenged airline pricing arrangements.

Governments usually own the national airline (the Federal Republic has a majority shareholding in Lufthansa, for instance) and they have no interest whatever in flag carriers being buffeted by the chill winds of competition and, in the worst eventuality, even elbowed out of the market.

European airlines are fond of pointing to the ruinous competition between airlines in the United States, where the Carter Administration deregulated civil aviation in 1978.

Dozens of new airlines promptly joined the fray, exerting heavy pressure on established market leaders with rock-bottom air fares.

The initial outcome was splendid from the passenger's point of view. Fares plummeted and a number of flights were available at sensationally low-cost fares.

But most of the newcomers went out of business before long. Over 150 airlines have since filed for bankruptcy or been involved in dramatic mergers.

Even major airlines such as PanAm had heavy weather.

So Herr Ruhnau warns that "an open-skies policy as in the United States must be prevented in Europe; the transport policy consequences would be socially unacceptable."

The Council of European Transport Ministers has for some time been debating a modest degree of deregulation in civil aviation. But government officials and experts are only too happy to allow themselves to be bogged down in minor details, so heavy is the pressure brought to bear on them by their national airlines.

Lufthansa's Ruhnau is well aware that matters cannot continue as they are.

"The market order must be reformed," he says. "There must be more flexibility and less bureaucracy."

Yet Lufthansa has no intention of relinquishing its existing advantages unnecessarily, especially as the Federal Transport Ministry is very much on its side.

Ministry officials, whose permission is required to OK all air fares charged for services from German soil, take care to ensure that no carrier charges rock-bottom fares that are clearly uneconomic and, above all, prejudicial to aviation safety.

Ministry officials have never objected to high fares; in that direction the sky is the limit. Officials express loyal approval of Lufthansa fares. "We have the impression that fares are appropriate," one civil servant puts it.

So the April 1986 ruling by the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg for once put not only the Bonn government and Lufthansa but also the Federal Monopolies Commission in Berlin on the spot.

The Berlin competition watchdogs have now been requested by the European Commission to check how Lufthansa arrives at its present air fares.

The Berlin agency has no interest in accusing the national flag carrier of restrictive trade practices, let alone fine it heavily for price-rigging, as long as similar arrangements are the rule in other countries.

"There is no point in us going it alone," says Hubertus Schön, spokesman for the Monopolies Commission.

Only in exceptional circumstances have European governments been prepared in the past to permit or agree to liberal bilateral civil aviation agreements. Britain and the Benelux countries have at times been keen on a measure of deregulation of air fares.

Britain and Holland, for instance, have agreed that new airlines are to be allowed to run services between their two countries and to introduce unilaterally low fares without their opposite number crying wolf.

The consumer derives the benefit. Ordinary people can now afford to fly across the Channel for a weekend now air fares are not much higher than the time-consuming ferry.

Eurocrats, especially Mr Sutherland, generally feel that moves toward liberalisation are far too slow.

The Commission originally wanted to reduce the fifty-fifty share of capacity to a lower limit of 25 per cent to enable the more successful carriers to gain a higher share of the market.

At the same time a guarantee of national airlines' survival was to be given. National governments and airlines are in contrast not prepared to allow new competitors more than five, or at most 10, per cent of the market.

The story is much the same where fares are concerned.

The Commission initially wanted basic fares to be reduced. After a war of attrition between national capitals and Brussels agreement has now been reached on a more flexible approach to special tariffs.

That is unlikely to be enough to Mr Sutherland, a tough and unrelenting Irishman. He seems prepared to use legal means if need be to break up the civil aviation cartel.

Unless Lufthansa, Alitalia and Olympic Airways prove they are in the process of liberalising their existing arrangements they can expect to be ordered to do so by the European Commission.

That would be unpleasant. All agreements they have with other airlines would then be declared null and void. Any passenger who felt he had paid through the nose for his flight would be entitled to sue the airline for breach of competition regulations.

Lufthansa has clearly realised that Mr Sutherland means what he says. Hardly had his intention been announced but Lufthansa, like seven other European airlines before it, applied for an appointment in Brussels to demonstrate its goodwill.

Herr Ruhnau's strategy is clear. He wants to make it clear to the European Commission how he and his airline foresee developments.

"Everything must proceed gradually and in moderation," he says. "Ruinous competition along American lines must be prevented.

"If only half a dozen large airlines survive, controlling 90 per cent of the market, that is surely the least satisfactory outcome from the consumers' point of view."

Karl-Heinz Büschemann/
Thomas Hanke
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 27 March 1987)

■ ARCHITECTURE

The bell-founder who became a virtuoso of baroque

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Balthasar Neumann was one of the greatest exponents of the baroque in architecture. Among the buildings he designed were the archiepiscopal residence at Würzburg, the castle at Brühl, and churches at Neresheim, Mainz and Vierzehnlingen.

The guide to the residence in Würzburg said nothing, but the building itself spoke volumes. Visitors were dumb with astonishment as they took in the grand staircase in the middle of the hall, overpowered by its dimensions, the light and brilliancy of the room, the marvellous colours of the frescoes.

The residence is one of the most imposing buildings that Neumann designed, and it cannot be taken in at a glance. It only reveals its majesty step by step.

The building's span covers 600 square metres and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, no less, did the ceiling frescoes, the largest painting in the world.

Neumann's designs for baroque castles in the eighteenth century were the beginnings of a brilliant architectural movement.

This year is the 300th anniversary of his birth and no one could have then foreseen that he would become a master architect.

He was born in 1687 in Bohemia, the seventh child of a poor cloth-worker. He was at first trained as a bell-founder, but he went off to see the world and ended up at Würzburg, where he met the man who was later to be his teacher, the engineer and architect Andreas Müller.

Young Neumann was talented. He swotted away at geometry and land surveying, and applied himself with considerable zeal to the study of architecture.

He gave up his profession of bell-founder and lived on an early form of student grant offered him by the little Bohemian town where he was born.

In 1715, at the age of 28, he was given his first commission. He was asked to prepare a basic sketch design of the city of Würzburg. But it was not until 1719 that his career blossomed.

Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn mounted the prince-bishop's throne in that year. It was planned to move the prince-bishop's court from the Festung Marienberg down into the city of Würzburg. Neumann was commissioned to design the residence that was to become his masterpiece.

He was enormously creative from then on, until his death in 1753. His career took him all over south and west Germany, even to Austria.

He built in Brühl, Bonn-Poppelsdorf, Koblenz, Trier and Mainz, in Worms, Speyer, Konstanz and Meersburg on Lake Constance.

He drew up plans for Maria Theresia in Vienna and was responsible for the prince-bishop's summer residence at Werneck.

He built at Banz Abbey, north of Bamberg, provided Würzburg with its first piped-water supply, taught at the university and planned and supervised the construction of any number of ecclesiastical and secular buildings.

Many of the buildings he left to posterity are to be found in Franconia. A cultural expedition through this region links architectural marvels with beautiful countryside.

For instance the basilica of the Holy Trinity in Größweinstein, a dual-towered church with a marvellous facade, one of the largest and most beautiful church buildings in Franconia.

The churches at Vierzehnheiligen, Neresheim and Münsterschwarzach, are all very well known although the last named was totally demolished as a result of secularisation in 1821.

Neumann contributed much to the beauty of what had become his second home, Würzburg, where he worked until his death as builder and engineer.

He is buried in the gothic Marienkapelle am Marktplatz.

The residence for the prince-bishops of Würzburg is a residence without comparison. The baroque grand staircase, the Weisser Saal with its opulent decorations and the splendid Kaisersaal, are the most stupendous interiors in Germany.

The building cost 500,000 gulden, about 20 million marks at today's values. The money did not come from taxes but from a corrupt court official, whom Bishop von Schönborn had taken to court.

Neumann met all the great architects of the period. He went to Paris and Versailles and returned to Würzburg bursting with plans and ideas.

As city architect he was responsible for all civic building in the city, and arranged tax relief for richly-decorated new buildings and conversions. The wonderful facades and statutes that can be seen in Würzburg today are the result of his recommendations.

His architect's office was responsible for the Schönborn chapel, vault with its religious statutes, the Augustinian Church (formerly the Dominican Church), the Jesuit Church and the Ursuline Convent. The Käppele, a baroque pilgrimage church, is a later work by the master, built on the Nikolausberg. This is the city's emblem.

It is not surprising, then, that the Franconians are celebrating the 300th anniversary of Neumann's birth. Eleven towns and local communities are staging events this year in his honour; artistic guided tours, photographic exhibitions, concerts in churches he built, lectures with colour-slides and documentary exhibitions about his life and work. High points of the celebrations are a two-day tour of Neumann's work in Bamberg and Lower Franconia on 30 and 31 May, and in the Franconian Museum of the Main in the Marienberg Festung a special exhibition of the architectural plans that were drawn up by his office in Würzburg, from 16 May to 19 July, and a documentary history of Neumann's life, open from 16 May to 20 September. From June to September an exhibition to celebrate the Neumann year is being mounted at Vierzehnheiligen.

Petra Susann Hardt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 29 March 1987)





The baroque staircase inside Neumann's Residence in Würzburg. (Photo: Althaus/Stadt Würzburg)



Mendelsohn's Einstein Tower (1920) in Potsdam. (Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturb...)

Erich Mendelsohn and the vanguard of the revolution

Architectural historian Julius Posener called him the most perceptive of the German architects, the greatest power in revolutionary architecture, a great man of an epoch.

He was not referring to Mies van der Rohe nor Walter Gropius but to their contemporary Erich Mendelsohn, born in 1887.

In 1968 the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts presented a first review of the work of their member who had been forced into exile in 1933, concentrating on the work he did in Berlin.

The highlight was the "Einstein Tower" at Potsdam. Visitors could see the effect of the concrete-shell technique in a brick structure. Also dealt with fully was the Universum Cinema in Berlin, that has been partly torn down and converted. Its outer shell is used as a theatre.

The exhibition also concentrated on the dwellings, department stores and business offices that were destroyed during the war, such as the Mosse publishing house building in Kreuzberg, Columbushaus on Postdamer Platz and the Schocken department store building in Stuttgart with its half-rounded tower, that fell victim to post-war re-planning.

Only the trade union building in Kreuzberg remains to bear witness Mendelsohn's architectural powers, his abilities to create massive buildings within a sober city planning context.

His architecture was eloquent and criticised. The Italian critic Bruno Zevi said it filled space. He saw in Mendelsohn a loner, an heir of the baroque building art.

He was a successor to Francesco Borromini (1599-1677) and Antonio Gaudi, while at the same time being a pacemaker for the 19th century.

Like his expressionist contemporary Hans Scharoun he came from East Prussia. He studied economics, then architecture in Berlin and Munich (with Theodor Fischer).

His ideas were very much in tune with the "Blauer Reiter" movement of Munich artists with whom he was friendly, and as a result he opened his first architect's office there.

He had Jewish parents and he saw considerable significance in the coincidence that he was born on the same day, 21 March, as Benedict of Nursia (about 480-550), abbot and founder of Subiaco and Monte Cassino, and Johann Sebastian Bach, born in 1685. (Posener called Mendelsohn an Oriental from East Prussia.)

His mania for work kept him away from congresses and exhibitions at which leading architects of the New Building of the period gathered.

When he worked, creating his early utopian war-time designs for ecclesiastical buildings, cemeteries, factories and airports, he listened to Bach's music.

During the First World War he served as a soldier in Russia and France.

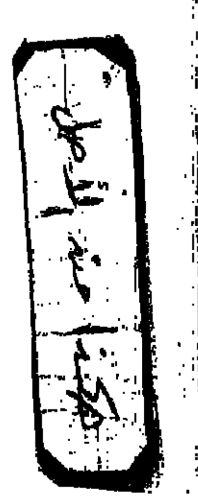
He annotated his sketches for buildings that reached towards the skies with the words "God the Lord is our protector and shield," or "allegro moderato."

Mendelsohn was wounded during the war and lost an eye. His short-hand symbols, always looking to the future, were bewitching in their energy and light.

He drew indefatigably, producing many detailed alternatives for the projects he was involved in. Le Corbusier said that he drew too much. Mendelsohn for his part said that Corbusier talked too much.

Mendelsohn died in San Francisco in 1953. His widow donated 2,700 draw-

Continued on page 11



■ THE ARTS

Foreign writers and artists tell about difficulties of working in Germany

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Germany has an ambivalent attitude towards foreigners and things foreign.

On one side there are the fears that foreigners pose a threat to jobs for Germans, that foreign influences will grow. There are prejudices that foster misunderstandings.

On the other side are the ubiquitous foreign restaurants — to quote a visible example of a welcome foreign influence — which have done much to break down mistrust. Germans like Japanese, Italian and Greek cooking.

Since Günther Wallraff published his book, *Ganz unten*, (Right at the Bottom) an exposé of maltreatment of Turkish workers in Germany, there has been more public awareness about foreign workers, many of whom do the dirtiest jobs.

But less notice has been taken of how a foreign minority of writers, musicians, pictorial artists, film-makers and theatre directors get on in this country.

What does it mean to them to want to work, or have to work, in a foreign country?

The Bonn government commissioner for foreigners' affairs, Liselotte Funcke asked the 25th cultural policy colloquium of the Evangelical Academy at Loccum, attended by 175, to consider these questions.

European Community delegates from Brussels and Strasbourg also attended the seminar. Funcke, herself a member of the Bundestag, requested that the conference should come up with concrete recommendations.

In his epistolary novel *Hyperion* Hölderlein has one of the characters say: "Then I came to live among the Germans. I asked for little and was given to understand to expect even less." This quotation was the theme that ran through the whole conference.

Little reference was made to how these various artists came to be living and working in the Federal Republic, but a few examples of what had happened to individual artists were presented.

Writer Claudio Lange fled to the Federal Republic from Chile. His family is of German extraction.

He was made painfully aware of the lack of interest in this country of foreigners' troubles.

Italian writer Franco Biondi, this year's Adalbert Chamisso prize-winner, came to Berlin years ago to work as an electric welder. He now writes in German. He describes the emigration to be able to work as a kind of exile.

Ell Loko comes from a fishing village in Togo. He was a pupil of artist Joesph Beuys. He complains how difficult it is to gain the attention of the West German art market.

A well-known person in the German art world suggested to him that he should try to get an ethnological museum interested in putting on an exhibition of his work, which was a kind of relegation into an artistic ghetto.

Lin Nim Ro came from South Korea to West Germany to work as a nurse. Later she was successful with her pictures and can now say: "The conflict with the two cultures kept me young."

Then there was the Turkish authoress Aysel Özakin, who regards herself as a spokeswoman for the Turkish minority. She criticised Wallraff's book because all it did was to arouse sympathy. She said that she did not want to see regret from those in power, but concern between equals.

She said: "I am angry with him, but I support what he did."

The only thing these artists have in common is with one another is that they live among us on a foreigners' passport. Their motives for staying in this country are various.

Many are here of their own free will. It is a fact of artistic life, known for ages, that encounters with a foreign culture opens up new vistas for an artist.

Furthermore the musical life in this country as it is now would be impossible if it were not for foreign singers and instrumentalists.

Almost everyone welcomes the fact that foreign students are trained at German art schools and televison and film colleges.

Problem really rise when the foreign artist is obliged to live here; the person involved would suffer political persecution in his or her home country, for example, the Czechs, Russians and Poles.

There are also the guest workers of the second generation, mainly Turks, whose origins in a very different cultural and religious tradition make it difficult for them to integrate into West German society.

The problems are not the exceptions of the present. Discrimination against the Turks is equal to the disdain with which Poles were treated during the imperial empire period. Polish workers were brought into the Ruhr in droves at the turn of the century.

On the other hand Russian intellecturals emigrés in the 1920s (over 300,000 found refuge in Berlin alone) had few difficulties.

There were any number of lectures in the seminar and some of the debates were heated. Even the foreigners taking part did not always speak with a single voice about the urgent demands they should make of their guest country, the Federal Republic.

After two long evenings, during which the human problems became clearer, the battles subsided and a few facts about foreign artists' lives in this country became clear.

Many of the problems foreign artists and writers have to deal with in this country are common to all foreigners living and working here.

Those who have a job or work as freelances are subject to limitations through the aliens legislation in this country. Foreigners who work professionally and have their families in this country have no involvement in the country's political system. This is a particular bone of contention and hinders integration.

There was a unanimous call for foreigners to be given voting rights in local government elections at least.

It also emerged from the seminar that foreign artists suffered the same shortages and problems as many of their German colleagues; there was a lack of ateliers where they could work, difficulties with publishing houses, galleries and museum officials, these were all part of the routine troubles they had to face.

It was clear that foreigners suffered these hardships and they were getting worse, despite living in a foreign milieu for many years.

Foreign writers and artists living in this country would like to see what they called "the establishment of normality."

They want support, equal to that given other artists, and not because they are poor Turks, Greeks or Spaniards, whose writings, when they are published, are placed on the shelves as guest worker literature and only attract minimal interest from social workers and experts.

One of the well-worn problems that reared its head at the Loccum seminar was the international aspect of our culture. This culture concentrates in the main on what has been published, exhibited or produced with a furore in New York, London, Paris or Milan. Foreigners' culture in the Federal Republic has a job holding its own against such a trend.

What should be emphasised is the vast variety of foreign culture that already exists in West Germany. It should be stressed to the general public that foreign writers and artists in the Federal Republic are not on the fringe of our cultural and artistic life and should just be tolerated.

Their work should be looked upon as a part of our total cultural life. But surveys have shown that we are a long way away from this attitude.

Two years ago in Offenbach, where 82 different nationalities live, a Turkish authoress was offered the honour of "city writer."

She was able to induce the city to allocate a minimum budget of DM2,000 for foreign literature for the city's public libraries. She said: "Something of the work I did in Offenbach remains."

That was a beginning, a drop in the ocean, but an example that should be the rule rather than the exception.

Ivo Frenzel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 March 1987)

Continued from page 10

ings to Berlin's *Kunstbibliothek* in 1975. The *Kunstbibliothek* has now honoured Mendelsohn with an exhibition of a selection of these drawings. The exhibition, including works of Sigrid Achenbach, is open until 5 April.

It includes photographs of Mendelsohn's buildings eventually built from the drawings. Many of the photographs, plans and drawings are being shown for the first time.

A complete catalogue of the drawings donated to the *Kunstbibliothek* is to be published later this year. Then the Richard A. Klein publishing house also plans to make available in its series of fine arts monographs an important and pains-taking review of Mendelsohn's work in Palestine between 1934-1941 by Ita Heinze-Mühleib.

When the German armies appeared on the African continent he fled from Palestine to the US , where he also designed buildings, the Maimonides Health Center in San Francisco, for instance.

One of his last works was a memorial for the six million Jews murdered by the Nazis for New York.

Like so many things in his life it did not see the light of day.

Lore Ditzen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 March 1987)

Pertinent or exotic? That's the question

Are foreign women writers in this country accepted by intellectual circles simply because they are exotic or because they really have something to say?

The question was discussed by German and foreign women at the Evangelical Academy, Arnoldsheim.

For foreign female writers living in the Federal Republic life is to some extent a matter of linguistic schizophrenia, one of them said.

Many of the discussion particpants had grown up with German in their native country. Alev Tekinay had attended the German gymnasium in Istanbul and graduated in German studies in Munich.

Her autobiographical story *Langer Urlaub* describes sentimentally but with sophistication what it is like to feel "as a guest in your native land," in her parents' village.

There is the slower life-style, the sense of security and the many courteous customs (gratitude for coffee is expressed with the words, "Health to your hands.")

But there is at the same time nostalgia for Germany.

Cultural contacts are reduced in the main to social aspects such as cuisine and folk dancing during a special celebration day "for our foreign fellow citizens."

Contacts between German and foreign artists, particularly in the Ruhr, are more extensive.

It was clear during the seminar, at which the works of foreign women writers were read, that their motives were not so much something to say but a description of their search for identity and their nostalgia for their native country.

These motives are to be found in sociological works written by foreign women writers.

The image these writers have of their readers reveals their own situation, according to Sabine Hebenstreits of the institute for women and society, Hanover, formerly headed by Rita Süssmuth, who is now Health Minister in Bonn.

Effervescent Zehra Cirak from Berlin feared that "we ask for attention from the public just because we are foreigners."

She has been lucky. She left Turkey when she was 20 and trained to be a cosmetician.

She describes herself as a little tree that has put down roots in the damp German soil and stretched out her boughs in all directions; French cuisine, hiking in Bavaria, African dancing and Turkish dreams.

Portuguese women writer Luisa Costa-Hölzl said that excessive individualism, that saw everything foreign as a disruption in Germany, prevented people learning from one another.

Dieter Deul

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 March 1987)

■ MEDICINE

Rise in Berlin rate of Down's Syndrome births

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

A Berlin geneticist who noted a sharp increase in the number of babies born in the city with Down's Syndrome after Chernobyl now rules out any idea that fallout from the Soviet nuclear power plant was the cause.

Down's Syndrome, named after J L H Down, is a genetic defect in parents which causes mentally retarded children with mongoloid features. Affected babies have three No. 21 chromosomes.

Professor Karl Sperling, a specialist at the Free University of Berlin, noticed this January, exactly nine months after the Chernobyl accident, that the number of Down's Syndrome babies born in the city was 10 instead of the monthly average of two.

He doesn't know what the cause was, but says it was not Chernobyl. He is compiling a survey in an effort to explain the phenomenon.

Nearly every month some babies are born with the affliction: in Berlin on average two per 1,600 to 1,700 live births per month.

The actual number ranges from zero to six. Six has not been exceeded since 1980. But in January the figure suddenly increased to 10, as against two — the average — in both December and February.

Professor Sperling's first thought was that a genetic defect in the parents' gonads could have been caused by radiation.

This is a possibility. If a woman is subjected to high radiation a few days before or after an ovum takes shape in her womb, and if she becomes pregnant, the baby runs a high risk of suffering from Down's Syndrome.

The father can also be the cause of contamination. He must have been subjected to a high level of radiation up to a month before conception.

Professor Sperling has since virtually dismissed this theory. Not so the media. He has two reasons for abandoning the idea.

First, several babies turned out to have been conceived before Chernobyl. Second, the parents' gonads can only be damaged by direct exposure to radiation in sufficient quantity.

In Berlin the additional radiation exposure due to Chernobyl was virtually negligible. It was, he says, roughly the same as the level parents would have been exposed to if they had been on holiday in the Black Forest at the time.

So he is now on the lookout for other reasons for this statistical peak. He has yet to find any but hopes to account for it soon.

By then he should have evaluated questionnaires he has circulated in Berlin and elsewhere in the Federal Republic. He has asked genetic laboratories and advice bureaus whether they have made similar observations.

Many mothers have their babies-to-be tested for Down's Syndrome, or trisomia 21, in the 16th week of pregnancy. Professor Sperling aims to collate and evaluate findings throughout 1986 and in the first quarter of 1987.

It isn't the first time suspicions have arisen in Berlin that nuclear fallout from Chernobyl might have affected human life at the most sensitive time in its lifecycle: as an embryo or foetus.

In the February issue of *Psychologie heute* magazine there were reports of an increase in a dreadful form of deformation among live births in northern Turkey: babies born without skulls.

A Bonn health official, Günther Stephan has since learnt that this deformation has been increasing all over Turkey for some time.

Deaths of young animals whose mothers ate contaminated grass have yet to be clarified, and no explanation has yet been found for a series of miscarriages and stillborn calves in the Miesbach area, a region exposed last year to a high level of Chernobyl fallout.

A Rottach-Egern environmental group, Noah's Ark, noted 2,720 healthy and 209 stillborn calves in the area between October 1986 and February 1987. This would be twice the normal percentage, but the Agriculture Ministry doubts whether the figures are accurate.

So convincing proof that Chernobyl fallout has seriously affected the health of man or animals in West Germany has yet to be presented.

Friedrich Ernst Stievel, a radiologist at the Radiation and Environment Research Establishment in Neuherberg, near Munich, feels this uncertainty is unsatisfactory.

He says a close statistical check must be kept on cases of deformation and death among new-born babies so as to clearly identify the causes.

Rainer Klüting

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 21 March 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Steps urged to help police fight organised pollution

Frankfurter Rundschau

A rise in the amount of organised environmental crime investigated — mainly the disposal of toxic substances into waterways — is predicted in a report for the *Bundeskriminalamt*, (federal criminal investigation department).

The survey, by Münster political scientist Gerhard Wittkämper, says the increase will be not because there will be more crime but because fewer cases will go unnoticed and unreported.

Police statistics indicate 12,875 unreported cases a year currently coming to light, as against 2,321 cases in 1973. Professor Wittkämper was not prepared to guess how many cases went unnoticed.

He and his associates merely evaluated the findings of a large-scale survey in which environmental agencies, industrial experts and the media were polled.

BKA president Heinrich Boge cited as an instance of organised environmental crime the pumping of oil tankers' bilges into the sea to avoid the cost of cleansing them in port.

Offenders knew they were breaking the law. Responsibility varied in various cases. Sometimes it was the a shipowner or shipping company and in others a deckhand.

A characteristic feature of organised environmental crime is that several culprits are involved, although there is no "Mafia" developing as with drugs or counterfeit currency.

Professor Wittkämper said waste disposal needed to be given top priority. Industry was constantly complaining about its growing cost.

There was a possibility that cut-price waste disposal contractors would become more popular. This would increase the risk of toxic waste being dumped on normal tips instead of special dumps.

They might also illicitly pump toxic effluent into rivers and waterways. One such case of organised crime could, Professor Wittkämper said, outweigh thousands of minor offences.

Despite the increasing workload he was opposed to the idea of a special environmental offences force, although police forces should set up special units at various levels.

Every local district police authority should have an official in charge of environmental offences who could liaise with ecological groups and the media.

Special working groups needed setting up to improve cooperation between the police and environmental agencies, such as factory inspectors, water boards and so on.

Permanent round-table talks should be held in order to be able to react promptly and in concert.

Professor Wittkämper felt it was particularly important for police officers to be trained, and undergo further training, in environmental affairs.

The police needed an all-round boost in their scientific knowledge, he said.

Professor Edwin Kube, BKA head of department, agrees that the police need to improve their track record in the environmental sector.

On a national average the public prosecutor stays proceedings in 70 per cent of cases where environmental offences are under investigation.

Cases are often discontinued in this way — before they even have a chance of being dismissed — because the police fail to supply satisfactory evidence.

Professor Kube feels the deterrent effect of penalties imposed for environmental offences could be heightened considerably if only the police were better trained and equipped.

A further improvement would, he feels, be if the "levy on (illicit) profits" allowed by the terms of the criminal code and the Minor Offences Act were to be charged more widely.

Profits due to environmental offences can be confiscated. This has virtually not yet happened, Professor Kube says.

He cited as a laudable example the recent case in which a Hamburg court confiscated an Egyptian-registered ship whose crew had been found guilty of marine pollution.

Joachim Wille

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 March 1987)

■ MINORITY GROUPS

Migrant workers prone to a wide range of illnesses

Foreigners who want to remain in Germany

Who (in %)	
Jugoslavs	72
Portuguese	67
Spaniards	61
Italians	56
Turks	39
Greeks	29

Why (in %)	
Like it in Germany	21
Unemployment at home	18
Children at school	11
Want to save more money	10
Like the work in Germany	10
Family is now here	7
Other reasons	23

Germany

6260 © Globus

Migrant workers and their families are ill more often than Germans . Essen sociologist Vera Görtz takes a closer look at the reasons in her Bochum University PhD thesis.

Many Turkish mothers in Germany would agree with a Turkish woman who said:

"When I gave birth to my first child, back home in the village, I was so ashamed of myself and determined not to give my mother-in-law cause for complaint that I didn't even groan.

"Here in Germany I was completely on my own in the maternity ward — and I screamed a lot."

German doctors tend to dismiss this as uncooperative and uncoordinated behaviour. Dr Görtz feels it would be better to get to know how foreign workers feel about life in Germany.

The childbirth anecdote is typical in many ways. Foreign women, Dr Görtz says, feel on their own.

Many women from rural areas of Turkey are used to the extended family looking after matters. Mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and other relatives are always present at birth back home.

They feel totally alone in a German maternity ward. Fear comes to a head and inhibitions are jettisoned.

They literally lose control. Complications occur during the birth, such as the delivery taking over 12 hours, fever, breech births and so on.

Surgery is often necessary, not to mention powerful drugs. Infant mortality is higher among migrant workers than among Germans.

One reason why these difficulties occur more often with migrant workers' wives is that they make far less use of ante-natal care facilities.

For every 100 German women who consult a family planning and advice centre during pregnancy, only one foreign woman does so.

"Physical and Mental Illness among Migrant Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany" is the title of Dr Görtz's book, published by Verlag Andreas Müller, Gelsenkirchen, in which the findings of surveys of migrant workers and their families in both Germany and Switzerland are summarised.

Little research has been done on this subject. It is evidently a neglected aspect of social medicine.

If Germans were to migrate to Turkey, she says, they might well find themselves facing similar problems.

Her findings in brief are as follows:

- In some sectors migrant workers and their families have much higher illness rates than Germans.
- Accident rates are strikingly high in traffic, at work and in the home. Statistics show accidents involving migrant workers to be both more frequent and more serious.
- Parasites are particularly persistent. A survey among miners showed 31.6 per cent of non-German staff to suffer from stomach and intestinal parasites.

This frequency is attributable to changes in washing and cleanliness and in eating habits.

- Migrant workers and their families are more liable to tuberculosis than Germans and, what is more, they usually contract it in Germany.

TB occurs when the body's immune system is weakened. Specialists in social medicine attribute its frequency among foreign residents to unaccustomed work burden, previously unknown working methods, changes in eating habits, poor living conditions, the climate, homesickness, separation from the family and language difficulties.

- Migrant workers and their families are twice as likely as Germans to suffer from stomach and duodenal ulcers and other stomach and intestinal complaints.
- Migrant workers are more prone to certain mental illnesses, such as hypochondria and depression due to feeling uprooted. The longer they stay in Germany, the higher the percentage of mental illnesses.

Findings in respect of health problems faced by migrant workers' children are particularly alarming. TB, accidents, infectious diseases, diarrhoea, infant mortality and mental abnormalities are far more widespread than among German children.

This may, Dr Görtz says, be due to parents feeling the demands made on them are too heavy. It may be due to children being brought up in two cultures.

Migrants also invariably face problems such as acclimatisation, language difficulties, the cultural interchange, sub-standard housing and so on.

Dr Görtz has also studied the long-term effect of shift working at companies such as Chemische Werke Hüls, Hoesch and Bayer Leverkusen and concluded that family life is ruined sooner or later.

She sees a connection between the degree of control exercised on migrant workers and their families and their higher rate of mental and physical illness.

Most migrants come from countries that are less strictly organised than the Federal Republic of Germany.

They also come from industrially underdeveloped rural areas with high unemployment or underemployment combined with above-average population growth.

The Federal Republic is, in contrast, a country with a high degree of differentiation between the controls exercised in society.

The degree of basic controls to which most migrants are accustomed is related to needs and requirements back home, where relations were nicelya balanced.

Migrants find it hard to find their way around the social system in their host country. Harmony is destroyed as soon as the balance starts to be shaken. And that makes them ill.

Dr Görtz feels the Federal Republic, responsible as host country for the migrants' well-being, must help them in their bids to integrate, to assimilate and to acculturate.

It must do so not just by seeing how German society can cooperate more closely with foreign residents. They must also be lent support in individual mental and physical illness.

Dr Görtz, a sociologist specialising in social medicine, says health policy consequences must be faced.

Treating symptoms alone is not enough. The conditions in which they arise must be studied and understood to lay the groundwork for effective prevention.

Thomas Rother

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 20 March 1987)

Continued from page 1

must naturally be seen in the national context too. Willy Brandt's resignation as Party leader was too recent either to assuage upset or to foster feelings that progress lies ahead.

Social Democrats are still licking their wounds after the caning they took in the general election last January. The shape of things to come may yet be apparent in later state assembly polls this year.

The Greens, who as the results came in felt for some time they might hold the balance of power, will have felt hung over when the final results were announced.

They have improved considerably on their previous showing at the polls after ending their uneasy alliance with the SPD, but they will not gain further power or be able to insist on Green policies being pursued.

The Greens are out of the running in Hesse, hoist by their own strategic petard.

Wolf Ullmann

(Kieler Nachrichten, 6 April 1987)

■ CRIME

Mother charged with killing daughters aged 5 and 7

In August last year, two small girls were murdered in the little east Hesse town of Philippsthal. Karola Weimar, 5, had been strangled and her sister, Melanie, 7, had suffocated, probably by the use of a cushion or pillow. The mother, 28-year-old nursing aid Monika Weimar, blames the father. The prosecutor believed her, but not everybody did. The prosecutor was pulled off the case and another appointed. Eventually Monika Weimar was charged. The prosecution alleges that she wanted to get rid of the children so she would be free to go to America with her boyfriend, Kevin Pratt, a 23-year-old GI. Achim Zons is following the case in the courthouse at Fulda, a town in Hesse, north of Frankfurt. He takes up the story for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Reinhard Weimar... the father.
(Photo: dpa)

There is a 50-metre queue of people waiting to get into the *Landgericht* at Fulda, but they won't get in because the public gallery is already full.

Inside, photographers battle for position. There are three television teams and there are microphones everywhere. Sixty journalists sit at the press tables with pens drawn.

The object of the attention in courtroom 57 is a small, pale, mousy woman accused of murdering her two daughters, Karola, 5, and Melanie 7.

The prosecution says they had been respectively strangled and suffocated between 11 am and midday on the fourth of August last year, a Monday.

The accused, Monika Weimar, says they were killed by her husband, Reinhard, either the previous evening, Sunday, or in the early hours of Monday morning.

That was her second version. Her first, which she says was to protect her husband, was that she had last seen the children alive and well and playing as she left to go shopping on the Monday morning. They had then disappeared.

A huge search was mounted. It involved the police, the fire brigade, American soldiers, Federal border police, helicopters, dogs and 150 civilians including Herr and Frau Weimar.

On the afternoon of the seventh of August, the Thursday, a bus driver found Melanie's body in a parking area near a mine slag heap. An hour and a half later, a police patrol found Karola's body.

The discovery brought horror to the east Hesse centre of Philippsthal (pop: 5,000). No children were sent to school the next day, Friday. It was to have been Melanie Weimar's first day at school.

The prosecution's case is difficult because it relies heavily on circumstantial evidence. Because of this, speculation is rife and feelings are running high. The established facts of the case are few.

It is not disputed that on the Sunday evening, the third of August, Monika Weimar went to a disco called "Musikparadies", in Bad Hersfeld, with her boyfriend, an American soldier called Kevin Pratt. They had often gone there together.

She had got her children ready for bed about 8 pm, let them watch television and then had left them both in the living room with their father.

Most of the rest is in dispute. Frau Weimar says when she left the house on Sunday night, it was the last time she saw the children alive.

Frau Weimar spent an enjoyable evening with Mr Pratt. She drank perhaps more than she usually does, four or five glasses of cider and three or four glasses of schnapps.

About one in the morning, when the disco closed, she went with Pratt to a disused factory building where they slept together. About 3 am she dropped Mr Pratt off in front of his barracks and by 3.20 am was back home again.

She found her husband, she says, sitting bent forward crying on Karola's bed. She knew as soon as she touched the children that they were dead. Her husband had said, "Now neither of us will get the children."

She says she went to bed, heard a car drive off and a car return. Then her husband had come into the room and had told her where he had taken the bodies.

She got up at 9 on Monday, drove into town to go shopping. About 11 am she went to try and find the place where her husband had left the bodies. After a long search she says she found Melanie's body. She sat, shocked, in her car for 10 or 15 minutes and then drove back home. She got there about 12.10 pm.

Then she took part in the police search. She had said nothing about finding the body because she wanted to continue protecting her husband, who was also acting as if he was searching.

She put forward this second version after a witness came forward identifying the Weimar car as being at the parking area that Monday morning. The prosecution say that this is when she killed the children.

Frau Weimar transmits an air of insignificance. She is small, pallid and inconspicuous, the sort of person who never stands out. This radiating insipidity and almost indefinable plainness probably provokes protective feelings in some people.

You get the feeling that she has never had a great deal of happiness in her life. Perhaps she has not even expected any.

She got married at the age of 20 to Reinhard Weimar, who is still her husband. But he has never been her great love. Possibly she was afraid she might not find anybody else.

She was born in Hilmes, grew up in Röhrigshof, which is right next to Philippsthal, in the house she still lives in. She went to Grundschule (primary school) and Hauptschule (secondary school), left school and learnt domestic science, then spent a year as a nursing aid. She passed all her examinations with average results.

In 1976, she began work in a hospital in Hünfeld. In 1978 she married Weimar whom she had met in a disco. In 1979 Melanie was born and in 1981 Karola. She says both children were wanted.

The state prosecutor, Hans Wachter, speaks precisely, loudly and bitingly. He tends to be caustic. You get the feeling that he wants to drive the accused into a corner.

Perhaps it is an understandable aim when you think about the case, think that he wants to justify his appointment in place of a colleague, and when you consider the enormous public outcry surrounding the affair.

But he doesn't make a happy impression. He appears to be inattentive, he gets questions mixed up, and inadvertently introduces comic elements into the proceedings.

"So you mean to say," he asked the accused, "that every normal person can comb hair and tie plaits? I can't." Wachter is bald.

The head of the bench, judge Klaus Bormuth, puts his questions very softly and very pertinently. Only slowly do you begin to notice the cocoon that he is spinning around Frau Weimar.

Why on that evening of Sunday and Monday had she not rung up her sister or her mother? How was it that she



Monika Weimar... mother or monster
(Photo: [illegible])

could simply go shopping the following morning?

And also, she arrived home at 3.20 am on the Monday morning, she had said. She had spent 10 minutes in the children's room and 15 minutes in the bedroom. She had heard the sound of the car driving off and 30 to 40 minutes later the sound of it returning again. According to her evidence, it must have been between 4.15 am and 4.30 am.

"Was it light?" asked the judge.

Frau Weimar paused for a long time. "I don't believe so," she eventually replied hesitantly.

On the fourth of August 1986, the sun rose at 5.53 am. Much later.

You also notice only slowly that his questions are the questions of a man who doesn't understand the behaviour of the accused woman and perhaps doesn't even want to.

Evidence was produced that Herr Weimar had collapsed one morning after he had set out for work. Tests had revealed traces of psychiatric drugs. He had denied taking any drugs. Frau Weimar, a nursing aid employed by a hospital, denied having given him any.

The judge can't imagine that a man would take a pill, collapse on the way to work and later be found helpless. Why? Because a man wouldn't do that sort of thing?

Why does he find it so hard to imagine that the accused should want to protect her husband? The husband with whom she has had arguments and more arguments and who had hit her? "It's just a question," said the judge and changed the subject. One of many such questions.

There are many points that are unclear and remain unclear. Monika Weimar has two — or perhaps even three — versions of that day: the first, which she says was to protect her husband because she had guilty feelings about the way she had been behaving; the second, when she decided that protecting her husband was only bringing danger to herself.

And the third — in as far as it doesn't coincide with one of the other two - is the truth.

Monika Weimar will need to be right on the ball for the next 21 days or so (the decision itself isn't due to be handed down until August 7). There are an awful lot of questions still to be put and an awful lot of answers still to be found.

Why did she say this then and that now? Why did she do that then? What did she intend here? She sits there in courtroom 57, vulnerable and alone.

Achim Zons

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 25 March 1987)

Continued from page 5

past and present. There will also, inevitably, be a fireworks display.

The Senate has stopped short only at a historic procession so as to avoid parallels being drawn with the 700th anniversary celebrations stage-managed for propaganda purposes by the Nazis in 1937.

West Berlin organisers wryly note that their counterparts on the other side of the Wall are unperturbed by such parallels and plan just such a major procession.

In East Berlin the authorities are immune to such criticism. The workers' and peasants' state has always put to good use traditions of German history it felt it could benefit from.

So in East Berlin there will be a military tattoo — just as there will be a procession headed by the "Captain from Köpenick," a figure of anti-military fun if ever there was one.

In other respects the programmes of events in both halves of the city at times read as though they had copied from each other.

There are exhibitions, funfairs, festivities and fireworks displays in East and West.

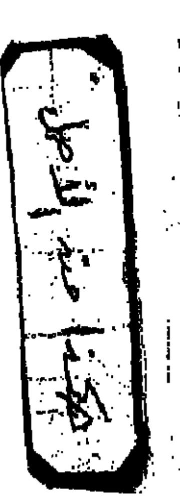
In East Berlin there is the Fifth Honey Show in Karlshorst, while in the West Spandau is hosting a festival of bards and folkore.

East Berlin is holding the 33 NOC Swimming Festival, while West Berlin has spent DM3m on starting this year's Tour de France cycle race in the city.

The Piccolo Teatro di Milano, guesting in the West, will compete with the Teatro Stabile di Roma in the East.

Dieter Stäcker

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 22 March 1987)



■ HORIZONS

Youth village scheme begun by minister who wanted to act, not preach

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Professor Arnold Dannenmann, founder of the Christian Youth Villages of Germany, is 80. Forty years ago, he founded the first village. Today there are 121 looking after 82,000 children and employing 3,200 full-time teachers, social workers and instructors.

The villages are Germany's largest, independent organisation providing young people with school and vocational training. They are neither supported by the state nor dependent on any one church.

In 40 years almost 1.3 million children have been helped. Almost 9,000 from the six special schools have taken the *Abitur*, the university entrance examination.

The organisation's motto is: "No one should go uncared for." This means that boys and girls who have a disadvantage of one kind or another are given a home, but not just the unlucky.

The highly talented are accepted so they can learn to use their abilities to help others.

The Premier of Baden-Württemberg, Lothar Späth, said in a speech at an occasion in Stuttgart to mark Professor Dannenmann's birthday, that this elite was also encouraged. He rhetorically asked: "Why is that wrong?"

Arnold Dannenmann, the son of a cabinet-maker from Faurndau, near Göppingen, studied philology and theology. He became a minister but wanted to act more than preach. The Nazis did not allow him to do anything. After the war, Dannenmann's chance came.

He founded in Norton Camp in Britain the first German university for prisoners-of-war. Prisoners with the *Abitur* could study two semesters. The qualifications were later recognised in Germany.

Dannenmann's first village was at Kaltenstein Castle, near Vaihingen, on the Enz. In 1947, he gathered young people without a home, without parents and without aim at Stuttgart Hauptbahnhof (main station) and they all marched the 25 kilometres to the castle. The village is still there.

The interests of these Youth Villages were extended further. They took in refugees from East Germany, emigrants from East Europe, boat people, the children of guest workers and people seeking asylum.

They also offered a home and training to aggressive, homeless youngsters who had turned to crime, and the mentally disturbed.

Dannenmann said: "We also had, of course, quite normal young people who attended the Youth Villages and our schools."

Other guests in Stuttgart for the occasion were the Speaker of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger; the vice-president of the Constitutional Court, Roman Herzog; and the former Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg, Hans Filbinger.

Späth said that Dannenmann's philosophy included human freedom that was so often misinterpreted in our society to mean a right to do as you please. He followed the injunction "Love thy neighbour."

He said Dannenmann was not just concerned with putting a roof over young people's heads, but took them in to open up for them new chances in life. The Villages trained them and gave them a sense of values for the realities of life.

Thousands of young people had been trained in the Villages and their talents and skills had been a valuable contribution to our economy. They were, furthermore, prepared to take on responsibilities.

Our times, said Späth, needed the creative optimism that Dannenmann has shown us.

During the celebrations in Stuttgart ample proof was given that the Villages are not just concerned with fringe groups, but also with talented young people.

The 14-year-old violinist Ai-Latica Honda, whose father was Japanese and mother Yugoslav, did not have the means to continue her musical studies when her father suddenly died.

She could not expect anything from the state but the Youth Villages organisation promised to help her.

She has since won a nationwide competition for violinists. She played in Stuttgart and her performance was greeted with considerable applause.

In a short speech during the celebrations Professor Dannenmann expressed his thanks to his colleagues, "who did not work according to the eight-hours-a-day rule but were available when they were wanted."

He said that there was still a lot to be done. The children of divorce, for instance, needed help. There were 80,000 of them and the figure was increasing.

To mark the jubilee a relay race was initiated, starting from the most northerly Youth Village at Eckernförde on the Baltic and the most southerly in Berchtesgaden, meeting in Bonn.

Sponsors were asked to give "kilometre donations". The money collected will be used to aid asthmatic children.

The first kilometre was covered straight away — by Herr Späth.

Alfred Behr

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 March 1987)

Children in hot water to face fire brigade

An experiment in juvenile punishment has been introduced in the centre of Frechen (pop: 42,000) near Cologne. Children caught committing offences such as stealing from shops will now have to face not the police but the fire brigade.

For 10 years, the North Rhine-Westphalian Justice Department has been trying to devise a way of dealing with young, first-time offenders without bringing them before a court of law. The intention is to help rather than punish.

There has long been doubt about the effectiveness of arrests and fines. Experts say experiments have shown that social involvement is more effective than jail.

The usual pattern is that the police are called in when a young offender is caught and this automatically leads to the involvement of the public prosecutor.

But in the Frechen model, first offenders face the fire brigade. The fire brigade alerts the youth authorities and then takes the child to its parents and discusses possible ways of helping.

This can take the form of community work or attendance at special classes.

Already results can be seen: in 14 months 58 children have been handled under the system, including 28 girls. So far there has been only one case where a further offence has been committed.

There has been only one hitch: one shop employee who had not been told about the system called in the police and laid a charge

dpa

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 21 March 1987)

Man gave each new baby 1,000 marks

A man who offered to give 1,000 marks to every baby born in his town in a 15-month period has had to pay out 46 times.

Wilhelm Rademacher, a 79-year-old retired businessman from Faulbach, on the Main, made the offer in an effort to boost the sluggish German birthrate.

The first baby to benefit between 15 July 1985 and 31 December 1986 was still in its mother's tummy: Frau Renate Spielmann didn't believe it when she was told that when the child was born, a savings account with 1,000 marks would be opened in its name.

Herr Rademacher told Faulbach Mayor Hieser of his plan in a letter in May 1985. The mayor announced the Baby Bonus, as it was quickly called in the town, in the local government gazette.

Rademacher, an industrial chemist by training, said he wasn't happy about the declining birth rate in Germany.

Because the children of today will be paying for the pensions of people tomorrow he decided to do something about the problem. He was already highly critical about the government's family policies.

Herr Rademacher takes the view that if the state and society believe that something must be done to reverse the declining birth rate then young marrieds should be helped as soon as they have their first child, and the extent of the help offered should not be too limited.

He said: "I wanted to do something that others could imitate and perhaps give one or two politicians pause for thought."

One man, the father of two and with three grandchildren, said that the baby bonus had not been so important for Faulbach, because the community is in itself very go-ahead.

Along with an incorporated neighbouring locality Faulbach has a population of 2,500, an elementary and secondary modern school, a swimming baths, 22 asociations with five association club houses, seven pubs, a doctor, dentist, baker, butcher, a shoe shop and a grocery store, and next year a pharmacist is to open in the town.

There are two churchs in the main street, the one is old, walled in with typical red sand-stone in disrepair.

The concrete houses opposite show that the people of Faulbach have taken to heart the signs of the times and accepted progress.

And the town was not entirely dead. In fact that morning there was an accident in Faulbach. A car skidded on the snow-covered road and crashed into a brewery truck.

Mayor Hieser said that for some time the town had been doing well and pointed to the increase in the Faulbach population. The birth rate had been above the national average for some time, not just over the past 18 months.

In the ten-hectare industrial zone there were now 350 jobs, some of them in the foodstuffs factory that Rademacher used to run, but which he had now sold.

Herr Rademacher came from Walsrode on the Lüneberg Heath to Faulbach in 1934. He set up his factory in the town after the war. He is well known as an industrious, convivial, generous man.

He said that he had had the idea for the baby bonus while he was out hiking. Even his wife was surprised when he spoke about it when he got back home.

Herr Rademacher has been made an honorary citizen of Faulbach.

Martin Geier

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 March 1986)